GENDER, PERSONHOOD AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AMONG THE CASHINAHUA OF WESTERN AMAZONIA

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Abstract

The thesis is an analysis of the relation between gender, personhood, and social organization among the Cashinahua, a 3000-strong Panoan-speaking people who inhabit the tropical forest region of Western Amazonia on both sides of the Peru-Brazil border. It sets out to define the indigenous concepts of gender, personhood and social group, as they relate to the life processes of persons and communities.

The thesis follows the life of a person from conception, birth and adolescence (chapter 2), through marriage and grandparenthood (chapters 3 and 4). Following this framework, there is a discussion of kinship, sexual reproduction and dual organization in Ch.2, of economic organization and the sexual division of labour in Ch.3, and of political organization, hierarchy and egalitarianism in Ch.4. This chapter ends with a discussion of gender in relation to the concept of community, suggesting that male-female interaction is the foundation of social organization. Social organization is shown to be a process rather than a structure, dynamic rather than static. This explains certain ambiguities in the indigenous definition of gender. In the next chapter Cashinahua ideological elaboration on these themes of community as process with gender as its central dynamic force is discussed through looking at one particular increase ritual concerned with social production and reproduction. The basic male-female union in the cycle of economic production and social reproduction is husband and wife, whose relations provide the paradigm for male-female relations. However, an essential mediator in the cycle is the namesake grandparent/grandchild relation.

The thesis concludes that gender is a prerequisite for personhood, and that collectivities of gendered persons make social living possible. A male-female opposition is not used to make a distinction between cultural/social and natural/antisocial: on the contrary, neither gender is *a priori* definitive of sociality. Social organization is based on the complementarity of the sexes and this is recognized in Cashinahua ideology as well as practice.

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To my late stepfather John Berrisford Tatham,
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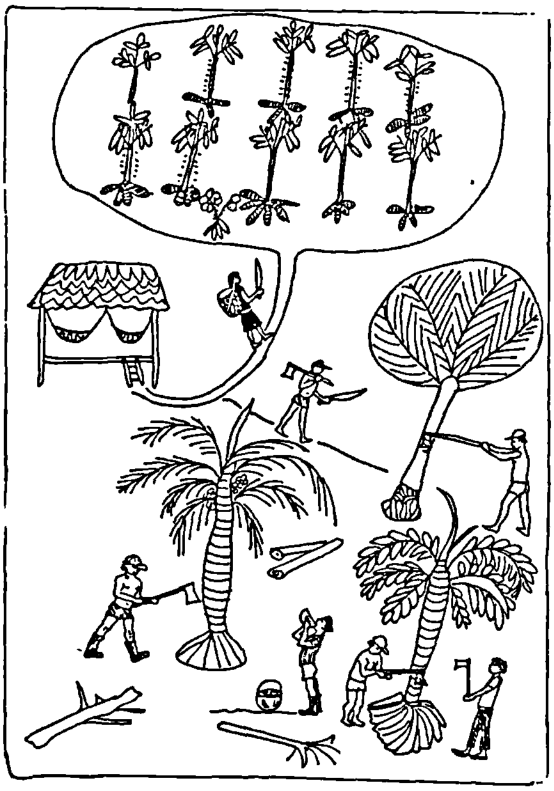
"Love is a machine which constructs the population of the earth".

Osair Sales Kaxinauá of the Jordão,
CPI Acre (1986):39.



After a drawing by a Cashinahua man of the Jordão.

A Note on Orthography

There are several versions of Cashinahua orthography. The first systematic transcription was that of Capistrano de Abreu (1914), using a system based on the Portuguese orthography of his time. The SIL dictionary (Montag 1981) bases its orthography on the Spanish and for convenience's sake, it is this that I have adopted. This version is currently in use in Peruvian bilingual schools. The Brazilian Cashinahua opted for an orthography based upon the Portuguese alphabet during 1986. This is now used in the literacy programme. Other orthographies have been developed by Marcel d'Ans; and by the New Tribes Mission in Brazil.

The SIL orthography is as follows: It consists of 18 orthographic symbols, including 4 vowel symbols.

Symbol	Phonetic Symbol	Remarks
a	a	As in apple. low central oral vowel *ia* (ia) (lice)
	ã	low central nasal vowel *ian* (iã) (pond, swamp)
b	b	As in battle. "m" can sometimes be a free variation of "b" at the beginning of words. voiced bilabial stop *besti* ~ *mesti* (bɨsti~mɨstɨ) (alone); but *baka* (baka) (fish), *maka* (mãka) (rat)
ch	tʃ(č)	As in church. Voiceless palatal affricate
d	d ɾ	At the beginning of a word, "d" as in dog; in most cases in the middle of a word it becomes like "r" in arid. voiced bilabial stop *dami* (dami) (transformation, drawing). It might have [ɾ] voiced alveolar stop as allophone when it occurs between vowels (*adu-*) (aɾu) (to put away, keep).
e	ɨ	This sound has no equivalent in English. It is pronounced with the lips in the position for English "e" as in elephant, but the tongue in the position for "u" as in ugly. high unrounded central vowel
i	i	As "ea" in pea, or "i" in pip, or "e" in pet. high unrounded front vowel, allophones [i] and [e] in free variation
j	h	As in hot or hat. voiced glottal fricative
k	k	As in cat. voiceless velar stop
m	m	As in mat, sometimes transformed to "b" (nevertheless the two letters "b" and "m" represent distinct phonemes). voiced bilabial nasal. Sometimes can be in free variation with "b" at the beginning of a word.

n	n	At the beginning of a word or syllable as not; at the end of a syllable it indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized. voiced alveolar nasal
p	p	As in potato. (slightly more plosive) voiceless bilabial stop
s	s	As in satin voiceless alveolar fricative
t	t	As in take. voiceless alveolar stop
ts	ts	Like the "ts" in its. voiceless alveolar affricate
u	u	Either as under or as "o" in pot or hotel. high rounded back vowel, allophones [ ] and [ ].
v	ω	As "w" in water or wish. Sometimes interchangeable with "u". rounded back glide
x	ʃ (š)	Represents 2 sounds: either "sh" as in shadow or ash; or the same sound, but with the tip of the tongue turned back. voiceless palatal fricative, it might occur as a retroflex consonant.
y	y	As in yap. Sometimes interchangeable with "i". unrounded palatal glide

(See Montag 1981:10).
Note that there are no Cashinahua sounds that are equivalent to English "f"; "g"; "j"; "l"; "z".

I am grateful to Thaïs Cristofaro Silva for help in making this chart. The responsibility for any mistakes is mine.

In the text I write Cashinahua terms with italics except where I use a term very often. I have underlined both Portuguese and Spanish terms.

INTRODUCTION

Is it possible for a people to live socially without an ideal image of their own social form? Such, it seems to me, is the case for many Amazonians. This thesis attempts to develop a non-representational theory of social organization in response to one such people - the Cashinahua of Western Brazil and Eastern Peru.

I begin from the fact that the Cashinahua do not represent to themselves a perfect social order to which practice should conform. Social life is not built upon the projection of an image of 'society' into past or future, but rather is founded upon the dynamic production of life itself in the present. Previously, anthropologists have sought to explain similar social organizations in terms of their own projected images, in terms of structure or its absence (as I will discuss below). Such an analytical strategy has had a number of untoward consequences. For one, an inability to account for the historical nature of the culture in question; and for another a distortion of such crucial features of social organization as the construction of gender and of personhood, in some cases almost beyond recognition.

The thesis attempts to present a processual model for the analysis of Cashinahua social organization. I should make it clear that by 'social organization' I do not mean 'social structure', whether it be statistical or ideal. I use the phrase in a wide sense to denote the complex of related practices and processes in which the Cashinahua engage as the basis of social life. All of these processes are culturally circumscribed as 'Cashinahua' by the people who engage in them. Each is morally loaded. The entire complex, from their point-of-view, creates what I shall call 'sociality'. By this latter term I mean a temporary product of morally correct engagement in social relationships. It refers to explicit emotions that the Cashinahua experience when social, economic and political processes result in high community morale. I use 'sociality' as an aspect of social organization and not as a synonym for it. Social relations which do not result in 'sociality' also affect social organization. Thus the distinction betwen sociality (the result of moral behaviour) and anti-sociality (the result of immoral behaviour) is crucial.

In analyzing social organization as process I remain faithful to the Cashinahua viewpoint. However, throughout the thesis I make reference to studies of other peoples in Lowland South America. The comparative discussions both strengthen my analysis of the Cashinahua, and suggest the possibility of a wider applicability of the central analytical propositions. I therefore include a critique of structuralism, and of related 'neo-Marxist' analyses of socio-economic process in 'simple social formations' (so-called 'brideservice societies') within the literature on the region [1]. I argue that the features of Cashinahua social organization that others would take as 'elements of structure', (such as the Kariera-like relationship terminology, the moiety system, the preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage, or the sexual division of labour), are best seen as aspects of process and not of 'structure', whether mental (as in Lévi-Strauss) or social (as in British structural-functionalism).

By taking a processual approach, then, I hope to achieve a triply advantageous position: I do as the Cashinahua do; I account for continuity in social thought and practice whilst locating it in historical process; and I develop a theory of gender and personhood adapted to the Lowland South American context. Let me now put these claims in focus.

Social Continuity and Historical Process

Marshall Sahlins, in his book '*Islands of History*' (1985), makes a critique of the conceptual opposition between structure and history, arguing that anthropologists frequently disregard the historical nature of structure. Cultures examined as self-contained wholes are treated as if they were suspended outside of history. This criticism would apply to much of the literature on Lowland South American societies. With few exceptions (such as Whitten (1976) and Gow (1988)), the tendency is to treat history as a force which acts upon an integrated cultural and/or social whole - the traditional indigenous society [2]. Change is thus effected from without, and 'traditional culture' appears as lacking in internal dynamism. Typically, culture is portrayed as a fragile entity to which history is opposed - to which history comes as a secular conqueror to a magic kingdom. The anthropologists' enterprise becomes the recovery of culture, of structures and functions which appear to be submerging in the tide of events; and anthropology in this guise becomes a tiny barrage *against* history. Those anthropologists who deal with change in traditional indigenous societies frequently portray them as helpless in the face of 'national society', for example in the acculturation studies of such as Wagley and Galvão (1949) or the 'ethnic transfiguration' of Ribeiro (1970) [3]. Sahlins' criticisms are directed against this sort of approach. He argues that structure is itself historical, the product of history and the means through which history is made, and that "the transformation of a culture is a mode of its reproduction" (1985:138). For Sahlins, cultural meaning is made and located in action, as a relationship between a given symbolic system and a particular occurence, and 'culture' itself is a synthesis of past and present, stability and change. As cultural meanings change through their engagement in history, so structures are transformed.

Yet it should be noted that Sahlins himself fails to extricate himself from the cultural holism and the static concept of structure to which he says so many anthropologists fall victim. He begins with a 'year zero' (Hawaii just before the arrival of Captain Cook) and a cathartic event (the arrival) as the cause of subsequent transformation. Falk Moore (1987) criticizes Sahlins' 'practice approach', as she calls it, for emphasizing the cultural and social order as given. She says:

> '.. to build a theoretical paradigm on the contrast between structure and practice has the disadvantage of detemporalizing existing structure, removing an abstracted structure from the events that construct it. A paradigm that postulates an existing symbolic system undervalues the continuous renewal needed by any ongoing system' [4]

The problem is: how to make a properly historical anthropology without falling into the trap of postulating an enduring symbolic system or set of mental representations (structure) that encompasses any one event or period. I do not imagine that I have solved this problem in the thesis, which, as will soon be apparent, is not an historical ethnography. The section on history is short and as in most traditional ethnographies introductory in nature. Space does not permit a fuller treatment. However, I present the processual model of social organization as a prelude to such a treatment, and would argue that my approach is a necessary precondition for a properly historical anthropology in the Lowland South American context.

If we are to get away from structure in the analysis of social organization we must still be able to account for continuity. How is this to be done? The answer lies in the cultural conceptualization of sociality. Cashinahua people are taught to be strongly attached to certain moral principles which ought to guide their discourse and practice in directions thought to be constitutive of sociality. From my reading of Abreu's (1914) collection of text I believe that these moral principles which influence their concepts and behaviour have remained steady over the past 100 years. Practice and discourse have changed greatly, but the ideas about what constitutes correct sociality have altered little. For example, Abreu's Cashinahua collaborators speak of the virtuous nature of generosity with proper food. Their words remind me of the nostalgia with which Cashinahua I met in the city spoke of life back home, expressed by listing kinds of real Cashinahua food at length. Generosity with food continues to be a central moral value, even obsession, of the contemporary Cashinahua. Many of the ideas underlying this moral principle as others have changed little in this time. The Cashinahua still say that people who are like themselves are generous with food and things and people who are different are miserly.

However the Cashinahua are not intellectual traditionalists, nor do they hold to a unitary view of knowledge, and much has also changed in their thinking. I would argue that whilst ideas which ground moral action change little over time, new ways of thinking associated with historical change, technical innovation, and so on, can grow up and become assimilated or rejected, as long as the basic morality of the practice they might generate is accepted. The Cashinahua, for example, are happy to sell meat to strangers. But it is enormously problematic if one Cashinahua person sells meat to another. Such behaviour disrupts the creation of sociality in their view. This way of thinking about moral action has great flexibility, I should stress, because a characteristic of Cashinahua thinking is the attribution of moral imperfection to all human beings, including themselves. This idea too lies at the basis of process, for a constantly reiterated theme is the need to become better, both as persons and as a community. It is important to note, too, that it is not just moral principles which guide the Cashinahua; often those things which are good to do are those things which make them happy. Many people, many children, good health, good food, good sex, are all moral goals and personal sources of happiness (and were in Abreu's time too). Finally, of course none of this would be possible if the Cashinahua did not dispose of the practical conditions for this 'good living'. Without land, river, forest and (nowadays) cities they would be unable to engage in the activities and processes which constitute their social organization.

Cashinahua Social Organization

Strathern (1985) writes, apropos of organizations such as the Cashinahua's:

> '... in brideservice systems, things act as neither gifts nor commodities... For a start, this proposition renders absurd the observation often made that the egalitarianism of these brideservice systems speaks to ours. Similarities perceived on the basis of egalitarianism are quite illusory; very specific strategies are being used in the construction of relationships. In Collier and Rosaldo's brideservice systems ... , relationships are set up by direct transfers of labour, that is, people perform services for one another, including supplying others with the products of hunting or gathering. The social value attached to the exchange of items is derivative from the relationship in question-as material items they only have value against other such items, this social value not being embodied by them.' (Ibid:202)

This is why, she continues (in agreement with Sacks (1979)), women in brideservice systems do not become gifts [5]. Below I show why I support this view, arguing that structuralist analysis in the Lowland South American context can distort our interpretations towards such an analysis. Strathern does not specify what the 'social value attached to the exchange' of items in the 'brideservice' context might be. I shall focus upon this value and the relationships which define it in the thesis. My strategy is to investigate consumption alongside production, distribution and exchange. In this way I can both look at the social value attached to the transactions which build and maintain relationships, and at the same time address the Cashinahua's own attitude to consumption. The famous Lowland obsession with food and sex has been noted by many authors [6]. Early writers such as Holmberg (1950) took obsession with food as an aspect of the fight for survival in a cruel environment. I argue that it is in fact to be explained in social and cultural rather than physical or ecological terms [7]. I do not interpret food and sex as the objects in themselves of socio-economic production. They are rather seen by the Cashinahua as aspects of the social and economic process which are simultaneously constitutive of it (through consumption) and able at certain moments to stand for it. The true 'object' (in the sense of moral purpose) of production is social living itself. It is this, made up as it is of the kinds of 'exchanges' to which Strathern alludes, that I call 'sociality' [8].

My approach owes much to Gow's (1988) analysis of the social organization of the 'Native People' (Gente Nativa) of the Peruvian Bajo Urubamba. He argues that the processes of production, distribution and consumption which make up the 'subsistence economy' are integral to the production of kinship in a social not a presocial sense. In other words, they constitute social living itself, and not a 'domestic' domain upon which it can be constructed [9]. He shows how relations with forest, river and city are constitutive of social relations even as they are opposed to them. Gow uses the term 'subsistence economy' in the sense employed by writers on the Canadian and Alaskan Arctic. He says "As Fienup-Riordhan has pointed out in her study of the Nelson Island Eskimo of Alaska (1984), the subsistence economy is the creation of specific social relations through the production, circulation and consumption of specific items from the environment" (Gow unpub:21). As part of this system, he analyses the relation between the construction of gender and the indigenous fascination with food and sex which the Native People of the Bajo Urubamba share with other Amazonians.

Gow's approach is novel in the literature on Lowland South America. He emphasizes the indigenous construction of kinship as something that is enacted by living people, rather than, for example, something which conforms to principles generative of 'structure'. Kinship is memory of acts done, and also the creation of such memory in children by such acts (caring and feeding). Gow says:

> 'Coresidence ... is about the relations between living kin. Native people's model of the native community is ... of a place in which life processes are enacted. The work of married adults produces houses, gardens and food. this food is distributed outwards from the married couple to feed coresidents, and to reinstitute the labour sharing which domesticates the forest. But the sexual activity of married people is also creating children, and the food production of the parents is also transformed, in the feeding of these children, into memory, and hence kinship.' (1988:197)

It is not idealized social form realized in practice that preoccupies the Native People of the Bajo Urubamba, then, but all the complexities of economic and social life itself. People move through such life as persons engaged in productive relations with others. They make both people (kin) and, at the same time, the possibility of such social production (relationships). Images of pure form play their part in the construction of such life; but not as a model or objective. Gow argues that it is vitally important to understand indigenous perceptions of history in order to understand kinship. In indigenous narration of history considerable emphasis is placed on the location and nature of settlements. The Native People think of 'races' or 'kinds of people' as originating in specific spatial locations. These are not thought of as collectivities of individuals, Gow argues. The mixing of these separate categories of people is a defining feature of the personal identities of members of the modern living community, and the basis of social organization itself [10].

Bajo Urubamba Native People seek to ensure the productive coresidence of kin by continuing the process of mixing through marriage. Marriages with persons from upriver (Campa) or downriver from the city (moza gente) enable men and women to engage in gendered production through what Gow terms 'relations of demand'. Spouses must do things for each other (a man build a house, clear a garden; a woman make manioc beer) for either to be able to produce or to be fully social. Husband and wife thereby satisfy each other's sexual and oral desires [11]. This relation allows the couple to engage in 'relations of caring', to engage in the creation of kinship through making and caring for children (through sex and above all feeding). Feeding 'real food' to the children created the loving memory which sets up future kinship relations for the adult child.

Rather than casting his model of social organization as a representation of form, Gow makes it at once processual (no one relationship is its crux) and dynamic. It depends upon the way that children look upon their parents (memory) and parents create such memory in their children. 'Society' is not so much made out of transformed children's bodies, as made during and after the process of their manufacture [12]. Crucial to this process is the construction of gender and its engagement in production and sexuality. The abilities and desire to produce and to have sex, together with the ability to remember and respect, lay the foundation of personhood and of social organization in the Bajo Urubamba.

My own model of Cashinahua social organization has taken inspiration from Gow's Bajo Urubamba model. Where appropriate in the thesis I make comparison with his material and interpretations, and therefore I shall move directly on to an outline of the chapters and the main lines of argument. The outline is followed by a discussion of structuralism within the literature on Lowland South America.

I shall argue in the thesis that production as a social process is constituted by the relation between kinds of producers (proper persons) characterized as 'proper men' or 'proper women' according to their gender-defined agencies. Male agency is directed 'outwards' and involves destruction, separation and transferral, whereas female agency is directed 'inwards' and involves incorporation and transformation. It is the relation between the complementary male and female productive processes, and male and female agency, that generates the social, economic and political processes of Cashinahua life, and therefore underlies social organization itself. This relation is given meaning in the organization of consumption. The production and consumption of things is tightly linked to consumption and the production of persons, and all moments in the process are based upon dynamic male-female complementarity. All this, well done, leads to 'sociality'.

Outline

In Chapter One I begin by describing Kensinger's earlier structural analyses of Cashinahua social organization. I raise some problems with his approach, and in particular the way it leaves the impression that 'traditional' Cashinahua social organization is ahistorical in nature. His model is implicitly unable to account for Cashinahua involvment in history except in terms of a future breakdown of the system. The next section is a brief account of the history of the region and of the Cashinahua. I describe the 'aviamento system' - the socio-economic organization of rubber production involving debt bondage of tappers in Amazonia and chains of credit and debt extending to the major financial houses of Europe and the United States. I bring the historical account up to 1987, by which time a new socio-economic process involving land speculation, road construction and ranching was replacing the 'aviamento' system. This brief history is refered to throughout the thesis. In the next section I describe the origins of and present situation in a Cashinahua community in terms of this history. The section includes a demographic analysis of its two major villages - Recreio and Fronteira. Finally I return to the subject of 'social structure', asking whether an analysis of 'residence structure' is useful. I compare a possible analysis along these lines with Kensinger's original model, and argue that even within structuralist terms of reference the application would be less than satisfactory. I end by stressing that within my own terms of reference, which seek to locate Cashinahua social organization within history and not against it, the dissatisfaction would be total. The rest of the thesis then proceeds to develop my own processual model of the subject.

Chapter Two is an account of kinship and marriage from a Cashinahua perspective. It deals in particular with the construction of gender and gendered agency in children in relation to naming, to corporeal growth and to the social development of the child. In Section 3 I relate moiety to the 'Kariera-type' organization of naming, in a discussion of kinship terminology. I describe the linguistic knowledge needed by a child before it can begin to develop into a proper person. Also, an analysis of the use of moiety names as address terms throws a surprising light upon the idea of moiety, which in the context of address terminology I show to be both a hierarchical and an egalitarian principle of social organization. The effect of this usage is to produce a 'class' of adult producing persons who stand opposed to children on the one hand and 'ancient people' on the other. Such sexually and physically active adults belonging to opposed moiety categories are the driving force of the social and economic process. Moiety affiliation provides a dynamic to social and sexual relations between them. Throughout the thesis I return to the subject of moiety, which is a complex one not easy to capture in a brief description. It is used by the Cashinahua in many ways, whether in address or in implicit reference to a dualist vision of the cosmos in mythology. In Section 4 I describe the Cashinahua initiation ritual for children that draws upon the idea of moiety through reference to mythic primordial figures, to express the dialectic between the conceptual opposition between the immortal and the living. Names are associated with the eternal, with death, and with the spirit world. They must be attached to a young child's body before s/he can master the skills of gendered production and so develop an adult person fully integrated into a moiety of living people and a community of kin.

In Chapter Two I show how the Cashinahua consider gender and male or female agency to be acquired processually rather than to be an innate characteristic or potential of boys and girls. A description of male and female kinds of gendered knowledge and appropriate styles of learning allows me to present an initial view of gender and of the nature of 'moral personhood' in Cashinahua eyes. (In the thesis I use the terms 'gender' and 'person' to denote culturally constructed notions, in contrast to the term 'sex' which I use to denote physiological difference). I argue that production in particular defines and makes 'true persons'. The last section is about marriage. I show how the Cashinahua sometimes attempt to make their adolescent children marry persons in the correct affinal category, even against their will. This tendency to sometimes arrange first marriages is explained as a product of moral attitudes to sexuality and kinship (both of which are also cultural constructs). I argue that the Cashinahua see marriage as a productive, processual and long-term relationship, rather than as the product of a structuralist logic. I quote an informant who told me that 'wrong' marriages (with persons belonging to a wrong category) are good as long as the relationship is subsequently carried out according to certain moral principles, such as generosity, non-violence and caring.

Chapter Three concerns economic organization. The central economic dynamic is provided by the relationship between male and female agency within the cycle of production, circulation and consumption which is expressed by the Cashinahua in terms of the relations between spouses. Thus the chapter continues the discussion of Cashinahua marriage, focusing on adult marriage. I show how male-female relations are related to human relations with the spaces and the time of production and consumption, and how human relations with 'non-humans' (animals, spirits, plants, foreigners) are articulated with male-female relations. In Section 1 I discuss space and time in terms of my model of 'inside-outside' (which is based upon Cashinahua conceptions of sociality versus non-sociality). I argue that productive relations with the 'outside' are conceived of in terms of male affinity, whereas productive relations within the inside (that is, relations that are generative of sociality and constitute the social and economic process) are conceived of primarily in terms of male-female affinity. In Section 2 I describe male and female production, relating it to the discussion of gendered agency in chapter two. In Section 3 I discuss appropriation within the processes of production in terms of gender, and of personhood, showing how the Cashinahua notion of the person assumes an integrity of the self, such that things can never come to stand for persons. This allows me to move on in Section 4 to a discussion of circulation, prestation, and exchange. I develop an explicit contrast between 'prestation', which I define as an asymmetrical transaction of sharing constitutive of sociality, and 'exchange', which I define as a symmetrical transaction akin to or in some cases identical with commodity exchange that is destructive of sociality. I explicitly contrast 'exchange' of this kind to 'gift exchange'. This model opposing 'prestation' to 'exchange' is further developed in the following two chapters and is a central theoretical proposition of the thesis.

I conclude Chapter Three with an extended discussion of 'prestations' and of consumption, focusing in particular upon food and the Cashinahua conception of the 'proper meal'. I argue that the consumption of such meals stands for the process of manufacturing community - that is for social organization. In the next chapter I discuss the idea of manufacturing community and the notion of 'community' itself in relation to political organization. I show how the idea that a community is a process of human action rather than a 'thing in itself' is directly based upon the practice and conception of male-female complementarity. I focus upon the idea that male and female leaders are the 'parents' of a community, arguing that notions of hierarchy are based upon the conceptualization of the asymmetrical parent-child relation. In this chapter therefore I elaborate the discussion of parenthood and marriage further. I link an extended discussion of 'exchange', commodity production and sale through the village cooperative, to the analysis of legitimate and illegitimate exercise of power by male leaders. I argue that the opposition between social relations defined as based on exchange and social relations defined as based on sharing prestations, is not absolute, but rather that the form of transaction itself constitutes the nature of the social relation. This analysis of the creative power of prestations in relation to exchange allows me to define the processual nature of social organization with some exactness. I conclude the chapter with a critique of structuralist perspectives on these issues, focusing on the work of Philipe Descola and Anne-Christine Taylor on the social and economic organization of the Achuar.

Chapter Five focuses upon an increase ritual called 'Kachanaua' concerned with the manufacture of community and with the proper ordering of the social process. Section 1 is a description of the ritual complex. Section 2 begins with a critical comparative analysis of myth, the ritual and the procreative process. I continue the critique of structuralism with discussion of Deshayes and Keifenheim's analysis of 'Kachanaua' as an expression of social and political structure. Then I argue that gender is the crucial symbolic operator in all phases of the ritual and that the complex nature of gender relations must be understood before sense can be made of the ritual. I show that under no circumstances can the ritual be interpreted as concerned with sexual antagonism. On the contrary, I argue, it expresses the sophisticated dialectic between conceptions of gender relations as complementary on the one hand and as reciprocal on the other. This dialectic, I conclude, generates the social, economic and political processes that constitute Cashinahua social organization.

Social Organization as Structure or Process

There have been many kinds of structuralist analysis of Lowland South American social organization since the publication of Lévi-Strauss's 'Elementary Structures'. It is beyond the my scope to go into all of them, but in this section I discuss a number [13]. My purpose is to explain what I mean by a 'non-representational theory of social organization' and why I consider structuralist analysis of social organization inadequate in the context of Amazonian cultures. I shall use a critique of a variety of different structuralist views of Gê, Bororo, Guianan and Northwest Amazon social organizations in order to show how my model of the Cashinahua 'transformation' of them is both deeply endebted and also crucially different to them. I focus in particular on their discussion of gender and personhood in relation to the social.

Sociological structuralist analysis of the sort used by participants in the alliance/descent controversy was shown in the Seventies to be inapplicable to the Lowland case [14]. Overing (1977) noted generally for these societies that social organization is not structured by an ideology of corporate descent groups linked by alliance [15]. She challenges anthropologists to develop a suitable comparative language with which to describe collectivities or social units without implying that they are fixed in bounded groups in some way. From the indigenous perspective as from the anthropological they clearly are not. The problem is that even knowing this the structuralist language of analysis (as I will show below) continues to talk of them 'as if' they are, or as if they logically ought to be. The implication in cases where other factors are seen to overide the formation of social units (as in Rivière's (1985) study of the Guianas cultures) is that they are not societies at all but just aggregates of individuals. But indigenous discourse and its imagery of social living does not create 'society' as an object or an objective. As Strathern writes:

> 'Under what circumstances is a concept of "society" produced? The idea of society is itself a modeling, and it is by no means clear that all the so-called "societies" we study have such models. (I do not mean in the sense of a conception of a unified structure-we know this for our own device-but in the sense of a representation of collective life describable as sets of relationships of the role/status kind)' (1985:200)

And as Strathern wrote elsewhere (1980), our notion of 'society' is coloured by a specifically Western framework, which sees it as made out of, over and against 'individuals' who are thought of as its natural constituent ingredients [16]. 'Society' of this kind can be pictured in models of the sets of relationships of the role or status kind, as long as the people themselves make use of such representation. Which, in the Lowland case, they do not. If we are to understand Lowland social organizations, we must deal with the difficulty of cultures who do not represent themselves as social wholes. We must also, as I have said, account for social and cultural continuity. I now turn to those models which do postulate such a representation. I preface the discussion with some comments on 'structuralism' in general.

A notable feature of structuralist analysis is the way that certain relationships are privileged as central. For example, descent theorists (following Malinowski) considered the nuclear family (based on the mother-child bond) to be central; whilst Lévi-Strauss added the mother's brother to the equation to make the 'atom of kinship' [17]. Many monographs devote pages to the detailed analysis of such relationships and to the structures which can be built up out of them. This fascination results partly from the importance that the people studied (the anthropological object) ascribe to kinship and the relationships which constitute it; but there is a second, less obvious cause. In the process of 'making an object of investigation', the observer is confronted (as has often been remarked) with a confusion of facts and motions that appear at first to make no sense, to have no logic. The saving activity (as all fieldworkers should know) is to look at relationships and build structures [18]. The fact is that making structures helps us to build pictures in our minds, to 'fix images' for ourselves of our elusive object. By creating a representation of society, we make our object more real.

Structures can be built out of interchanges that we see, transactions (such as gifts) or moments of conjuncture (such as marriage). As the structures take hold in our minds the content of the relationships begins to take on a certain hue. From merely being in a position to categorize the participants in a relationship, perhaps according to kinship classification, we discover the category of the relationship itself: sons-in-law in a respect relation with their mothers-in-law, for instance. And thus the nature of the relation itself within the social system slots into place. Domestic groups divide, supra-social exchanges between them unite. After a certain time the structure begins to impose itself on the data, like a forest metamorphosed into a formal garden. The picture becomes fixed.

The next step in the tussle with fieldwork data is to write content into the relationships, to make the structures live. (Plants are brought into the garden and distributed in ordered rows). This is done by giving value to the communications between elements of structure, by *describing* transactions and interchanges (gifts, marriages, sales) as the factual content of structure, and then proceeding to analyse them as constitutive of structure. Exchange and reciprocity thus conceived give life to the structure, they make the image move. 'Social structure' becomes, perhaps, a functioning object (society); or an active mental deep structure engaged in the dialectical contemplation of the world. The theory of the transactability of values (Lévi-Strauss's 'women, words, goods and services, for example) animates the observer's representation, makes the picture move, if not walk and talk [19].

Two points can be made about this. In the first place, implicit in the notion of communication of values lies the notion of the bounded nature of the elements engaged in the transaction, whether this be individuals or groups. This point is very similar to one made by Strathern (1985), quoting Barnett and Silverman (1979) [20]. She points out that it is an aspect of Western thinking to assume the self-evident bounded nature of such categories as 'person'. The entities do not necessarily have 'substance' to our minds (according to Barnett and Silverman). Rather the bounded nature of the entities derives from their location within a system (such as a 'society') which is the real object of study. In other words, structures set up these self-evident bounded entities, which become empty categories since the sociological focus is placed upon the relations that bind them rather than the construction of the entities themselves [21]. This way of thinking about persons or groups is a 'representational device', as Strathern points out. As such, it has its limits. Although it allows us to visualize the social as a real thing, it also binds us into the particular theory of the relation between concepts and representation which Strathern describes. An implicitly visual imagery is used to describe the social in the process of its objectification. The words of analysis carry a visual weight, which we may or may not use to make diagrams, draw kinship terminology charts, geneaologies, and so on [22]. Studies of language in Lowland societies suggest that words do not represent elements of abstract structures that could be drawn out pictorially in this way [23]. One might, then, expect that the Cashinahua do not use words as if loaded with implicitly visual imagery in order to conceptualize the social; and also, that visual imagery and the graphic arts have another function than a representational one to them[24].

Secondly, the structuralist imagery of values passing between bounded units relies on a conception of these values as to greater or lesser degree concrete, that is to say objectified [25]. The description of the values transacted masks a theory of value (and a theory of the person) that *makes all the difference to our understanding of social organization*. Both of these effects of the structuralist enterprise have played a major part in the anthropology of Lowland South America, as I will now show.

A favoured approach in the literature has been to privilege one relationship in particular - the male-female - as located at the heart of social, political and economic structures. A large number of authors of all theoretical persuasions write of male domination or control of women as a simple fact of life in their area of study (for example C. and S.Hugh-Jones; Arhem; Gregor; Taylor; Descola; Chagnon; Lizot; Rivière). For them, it is something to be described and then incorporated into the analysis. For now I shall leave aside discussion of whether men in these famously 'egalitarian' societies do 'really' oppress women or not [26]. What concerns me here is the structuralist usage that in one way or another is made of this 'fact'.

That African models do not apply well to the analysis of Lowland social organization is generally agreed. The application of exchange models deriving from discussions of Melanesian data is equally problematic. Amazonians have no gift exchange systems like Trobriand kula or Highland New Guinea moka. Indeed, in each ethnographic case it is hard to find a cultural concept which could be characterized as the Gift [27]. These societies conform to a type characterized as 'brideservice' by Collier and Rosaldo (and in fact one of the cases to which they refer are the Sharanahua as discussed by Siskind (1973), who are neighbours of the Cashinahua and similar to them in many ways). The Melanesian systems, by contrast, are 'bridewealth' ones. Strathern (1985) discusses the contrast. The crucial difference, she says, is located in the value placed upon persons, labour, and things, and how relationships are set up (or not) through them. In 'brideservice' societies social value is located in the act of doing things for people with whom one is in a specific relationship, and not in the product of the action itself; a thing cannot come to stand for a person. In 'bridewealth' societies products or 'things' can stand for persons, and aspects of persons. Their detachment as a gift sets up social relationships because personhood is constructed as something inalienable from its social source. Thus in such societies persons can appear to be transacted as things (although in reality it is things which are personified - as other writings of Strathern also make clear [28]). The bridewealth systems contrast with 'commodity ones (and here she builds on Gregory (1982), where the opposite takes place: persons, and labour, can be transacted as 'things' which can indeed be detached (alienated) from the social source of production.

The Cashinahua system is neither a 'bridewealth' nor a 'commodity' one; but it does not conform either to the 'brideservice' model set up by Collier and Rosaldo, as I will discuss in some detail below. However, the point that they made, and that Strathern has taken up, is vital to my argument: that relationships are constructed in actions, in service or labour, and that this has serious implications for our theories of value and transaction (as it does for the Amazonians). They do not construct a gift, a 'Gift', or an 'Indian Gift' to be at the heart of social relations (cf.Parry 1986). I think that this point has yet to be taken up seriously by Lowland scholars in general; and it lies behind the following discussion.

Anthropologists in this context cannot build social structure upon the exchange of inalienable values embodied in things, because Amazonians do not recognize debt beyond a particular dyadic transaction of things, and because things are not seen as transcendent of human mortality [29]. They are consumed at once, or they perish, along with their owner, a fact frequently noted in the literature [30]. Consequently, structuralist analyses here look to women rather than goods as the sign and/or the embodiment of transactable value [31]. In order to do so, they need a theory of male-female relations which allows for the movement - and hence the popularity of 'male domination' as a social fact. At one stroke the analysis turns men into social subjects, and women into the objects of male social interaction. 'Men' as individuals or as groups become the self-evident bounded entities; women become the more or less concrete values of their transactions. The product is 'society'.

The neo-Marxist/Parsonian approach of Turner (1979 & 1979a) and (following him) Rivière (1984) also makes use of this double shift. Turner argues that male dominance in Gê-speaking and Bororo society results from the imposition of a superordinate set of social values upon the infrastructural domain of women (the 'system of family relations'). He asserts that male dominance itself is a central social value (a point which Lea (1987) disputes with regard to the Kayapó [32]). Women are thus structurally defined, he goes on, so that men can exchange them within the infrastructural 'system of family relations' (so that even at the lower social level to which they belong women have no active role). He says:

> 'The division of labour can be seen, in this respect, as simultaneously maximizing the value of women in exchange within the system of family relations and the dependence of men upon that structure of relations through which alone they can gain access to women and their productivity' [33]

Women are thus bound to be exchanged as values as an effect of the structure which Turner creates, as in the discussion of structuralism above. Such a picture can only emerge, however, if male dominance is a given, and 'woman as exchange value' is assumed *a priori*. This model (which is a development of Meillassoux (1975) [1981]) stresses the relationship between affinally linked men as at the heart of socio-economic process [34]. Turner argues that the economic and political process is structured upon the male search for control over other, younger men, through their control of women. Husbands living uxorilocally after marriage must submit to their fathers-in-law through the institution of brideservice. Not until the young men achieve father-in-law status themselves do they achieve autonomy and the ability to fully engage in politics and ritual. Social organization is thus portrayed as turning on the trajectory of men through their life cycle, and on the articulation between different productive and reproductive phases of men's lives. These phases are differentially related to 'infrastructural and superstructural levels' (in Turner's vocabulary), which are in dialectical interaction through time. A processual model is therefore the end-product of his analyses of different levels of structure. Rivière draws on this framework in his book 'Individual and Society' on the peoples of the Guianas [35]. He allies it to 'empirical' social structuralist analysis and another structuralist perspective on social organization derived from the analysis of relation terminologies. He postulates a pan-Amazonian 'elementary structure'.

In this area, in contrast to central Brazil where the circular villages of the Gê-speakers and the Bororo sometimes reached several thousand, communities are dispersed, small-scale, endogamous, and social organization is often characterized as 'amorphous' and 'fluid' (see Rivière (Ibid) & (1969); Overing Kaplan (1975); (1981). According to Rivière, the absence of either an ideology of corporate groups linked by exchange relations (1969) or of on-the-ground social groupings (1985) means that social structure is at best located in constantly changing statistical correlations. For him, these Guianan societies represent an extreme form of restricted exchange (Lévi-Strauss) or prescriptive symmetrical alliance (Needham) which he sees as the basic Lowland structure. As Viveiros de Castro (1986b) points out, for Rivière it is the absence of corporate groups that explains the 'fluidity'. Elsewhere, notably in the Northwest Amazon, Rivière's basic Lowland structure of prescriptive symmetrical alliance finds its corporate expression in a system of exogamous patrilineal groups exchanging women in marriage [36]. There, according to this theory, the potential for the marriage alliance principle to find itself realized in social structure occurs, in contrast to the Guianas, where introversion in the form of close kindred endogamy and a rejection of affinal exchange at a social level is the norm [37]. For Viveiros de Castro, Rivière's is a 'substantialist' notion of structure, which seeks comparisons only of 'kinship invariants', thereby dismissing cultural content and ignoring, for example, the rich cosmology of Guianan cultures [38].

How does Rivière tie his structuralist comparison of relation terminologies into the analysis of the 'brideservice relationship' in terms of process? Rivière takes up Collier and Rosaldo's (1981) distinction between 'brideservice and bridewealth societies. In the Guianas, he shows, wealth is conceived not in terms of control over things, but in terms of people - and in particular women. These, he argues are 'political economies of people' and not things. Persons owe each other services (labour) which they cannot substitute by payment in things as in bridewealth or commodity economies. For young men to have access to the productive and reproductive abilities of women, they must live uxorilocally and submit to the wife's father who demands labour from them. In this way men can achieve parity with other men [39]. Since Rivière looks at relationships in motion, so to speak, as they grow and change, and at the effects of the productive aspects of social relationships, it is true to say that this is a processual model. However, it relies (as does Turner's) upon a thoroughly structuralist premise: that relationships are based upon the transactability of concretely conceived values - in this case 'women' - between opposed parties. In an earlier book, Rivière writes:

> [Women are] 'an environmental resource... vital not only for the survival of the individual but for the existence of the society at any level [40]; Trio marriage is the exchange of women, and the transfer of this fundamental property brings in its wake a series of prestations and counter prestations [41].

In Rivière (1984) marriage, conceived as an exchange of aspects of a woman's service (sex, childbearing, cooking, etc.) against her husband's brideservice, lays the framework for social production to proceed, a production caricatured as male and as transcendent of female concerns [42]. Women become for Rivière (1984) the symbol of 'the good life' (the food and sex) which preoccupies Amazonians, as well as its concrete manifestation, its product. In this model, they are more than just wealth, they are capital.

Rivière's notion of process relies upon the idea of a structure which is potential but absent. Since corporate groups engaged in exchange are not a feature of Guianan social organization, he has substituted the (male) individual as their stand-in. The (male) individual in his formulation is therefore the 'self-evident bounded entity' to which I referred above. This position has the double advantage for Rivière of accounting for the extreme 'individualism' of the Guianas whilst at the same time providing a model comparable with other systems in Lowland South America [43]. For Rivière social structure thus ultimately harks back to an unconscious model - a mental representation - even if he asserts that at most social structure in the Guianas is a 'statistical tendency'. The undeclared and unconscious tendency of the amorphous societies of the Guianas is, for him, to become societies that represent themselves in dualist terms and realize their representations in the creation of social groups engaged in exchange transactions. The greater the control men exercise over women, the greater the likelihood that an exogamous group system will develop (and thus the 'fact' of male dominance is neatly incorporated into the comparative schema). At the opposite end of the spectrum from the amorphous Guianans are thus the 'crystalline' structures of the Northwest Amazon, or of the Gê-speakers and Bororo of Central Brazil [44]. They are, in a sense, the linch-pin and the *raison d'être* of Rivière's theory.

In the literature to which Rivière refers these groups are usually discussed in terms of a theory of social structure which turns on a Nature/Culture distinction [45]. The value of these theories has since been questioned, notably in McCormack and Strathern (1980). They are "styles of interpretation *which impute to other people* the idea of nature-culture as a more or less explicit entity in their mental representations" (Strathern 1980:177). Strathern argues that the relationship is often conceived as progressive whereby the cultural colonizes the natural, or constructs itself out of taming and incorporating elements of the natural. Nature is Culture's object. A common feature of this conceptualization is the idea that 'raw human nature' is tamed and incorporated in the making of 'society'. She writes:

> "These Western nature-culture constructs, then, revolve around the notion that the one domain is open to control or colonization by the other. Such incorporation connotes that the wild is transformed into the domestic and the domestic contains within it primitive elements of its pre-domestic nature. Socialization of an individual falls as much within this scheme as taming the environment" [46].

> "... from an equation between female and nature can flow the notion that (1) women are 'more natural' than men (at a particular point in the (nature-culture) continuum); (2) their natural powers can be controlled by cultural strategies (as the natural world can be domesticated, a matter of process); (3) they are evaluated as inferior (value hierarchy); and (4) have a generalized potential in relation to men's particular achievements" [47].

Strathern's comments are remarkably apt in relation to the literature on Lowland South American peoples. In the literature on the Northwest Amazon region, such strategies are allied to a structuralist analysis. The people of the region say that a man has a right to marry his cross-cousin and/or the sister of the man who married his sister, so marriage is usually analysed in terms of the exchange of women (cf.C.Hugh-Jones (1979), for example). In the analysis of the internal workings of the exogamous virilocal groups typical of the region, the male-female relation is central. The relationship between men and women is often reported as one of hierarchical complementarity [48]. In the analysis of the broader system of relations between groups, the relation between male group members, predicated upon the exchange of women (or violence), is highlighted. C. Hugh-Jones speaks of the substantive element of the exogamous descent groups being alienated by male transactions, in the form of the group's sisters, whereas the eternal symbolic property of the group is returned in a later generation, in the form of the names that the FZDs, the wives, 'bring back' [49]. What we appear to have here (from this point-of-view) is a classic 'elementary structure'.

In the Gê-Bororo case, marriages are not replicated and people seek out distant kin or non-relations as spouses. The consensus, expressed by Maybury-Lewis (1979), is that the dualist ideology as applied to male-female relations (rather than an elementary kinship structure) underlies social organization. This is structured upon the contrast between nature (female-linked) and culture (male-linked) and expressed in the layout of the circular villages, where the peripheral houses are associated with the natural and are the site of the domestic domain, and the central patio (which may or may not be the site of a men's house) is associated with the social and is the site of public action. This, the 'standard' Gê model, reflects the fact that women rarely participate openly in political activity, which is a male domain [50]. The Gê are portrayed in this model as imposing the social upon the natural in the construction (and thus objectivization) of 'society'. The central structural relation in the model is a hierarchically conceived male-female one; and the agents of 'socialization' are male.

The famous Gê-Bororo village plans are fine material for visual representation of the kind discussed above. The 'periphery' in diagrams appears closer to the domain of nature (the forest or savannah), easy to characterize as 'marginal' in opposition to the real centre of social life, the patio (where politics and ritual are enacted). It is easy to characterize the men's house (where there is one) as the very centre of the social as it is depicted in the drawing. Yet it would be a mistake to see in this village plan a representation of 'society', constructed on the hierarchical opposition between the centre (most social) and the periphery (least social). The village is not a picture of something that is or even should be [51]. In some cases it appears to represent an allusion to the layout of the other side of reality, the after life [52]. One might have a case for seeing the plan as a depiction of society, or an idealized picture of it, were the Gê-Bororo (like the Araweté) interested in becoming the dead. It is clear that they are not [53]. An explanation for the circular and concentric villages of the Gê-Bororo is more likely to be found in the tension between the abstracted world of the dead and the production of life in this world - and not in any posited hierachical relation between living men and women.

Although specific features of the standard Gê model are sometimes criticized, there has been no concerted critique of the use of structuralist models in the analysis of Northwest Amazon or Gê-Bororo social organization. However, a recent thesis on Kayapó onomastics and conceptions of wealth - Lea (1987) - casts doubt upon the standard formulation of the relationship between gender and social organization in Gê cultures.

Lea argues against the use of the term 'periphery' since such an approach marginalizes the female domain. For her, the 'domestic area' is articulated with the central patio, and never absolutely opposed to it (1987:5). She expands this point by discussing the typical Gê-Bororo practice of conceptually segmenting the 'periphery' into blocks of related houses or spaces for them. This led Nimuendaju to suggest that some of the Gê groups are matrilineal. For Maybury-Lewis the 'matriliny' suggested by these house clusters should be treated rather as a by-product of uxorilocal residence. For him, the notion of 'descent' and thus 'matriliny' do not apply to the Gê, because their theory of physiological ties do not conform to a unilineal logic. Persons share physical substance with both parents, and sometimes with other close co-resident kin besides. The basis of Gê social organization is found in the dualist ideology which opposes public to private, the ceremonial to the domestic sphere, male to female, and the social persona to this physical person [54]. The house clusters are an aspect of the domestic domain, and the location of the production of physical persons related by 'ties of substance'. Lea, by contrast, analyses the Kayapó 'clusters' or 'segments' as 'Houses', juridic persons in the sense of Lévi-Strauss's theory of 'house-based societies' [55]. As might be expected for a people who are 'hunter-horticulturist' and semi-nomadic, the 'wealth' of these Houses is symbolic rather than material. People inherit rights to their symbolic property rather than to goods *per se*. The Houses, Lea says, constitute veritable 'uterine descent groups' (not matrilineages) which control the transmission of names on the one hand and rights to nekrets (perishable symbolic wealth such as kinds of feathers or cuts of meat) on the other. She thus reinstates the term 'descent' in order to analyse the transmission of names and other symbolic wealth. It is naming in particular that bestows a social persona upon individuals. Since it is women who lie at the centre of the transmission of names, Lea can show that the series of dichotomies arranged around the female/periphery, and male/centre links do not work. Lea writes (my translation):

> 'Kayapó Houses constitute much more than a domestic area, (a place) for women to look after children and to cook, in complementary opposition to a ceremonial and masculine public area. The centre of Kayapó villages can be divided in two - the patio and the men's house. The latter is the place for warriors to group, and the space of formal decisions about matters of interest to the collectivity. It is a supposedly neutral space because equidistant from the houses around it. The patio is the ceremonial space proper, occupied by all the inhabitants of the village at the height of ceremonies, when the houses are abandoned to the dead' (1987:398)

Lea shows that all the ceremonies which take place in the patio depend upon the Houses, which own songs, chants, ritual paraphernalia, and dances. The ceremonies are performed by both men and women. What is more, the majority of the ceremonies are concerned with the bestowal of names, the property of the Houses [56]. Lea's work, with its meticulously detailed analysis, is important because it allows us to move away from the standard approach to gender and male-female relations in Gê-Bororo societies with its emphasis on centre/periphery and public/domestic.

Lea notes that Nimuendaju did not find universal male dominance to be a characteristic of Gê-speakers [57]. Like the Bororo (cf.Crocker) the Kayapó conceive of households as female-headed. Kayapó male gender is associated with superior physical force and stamina, and greater aggressivity, and Lea notes that male violence against women is more common than vice-versa (Ibid:375). Women are supposed to avoid the men's house, and claim ignorance about external politics and internal administrative matters. Equally men may not enter the houses when women give birth, nor should they spend too much time there in ordinary circumstances. But the female domain has its own characteristics which are not consistent with the conceptual opposition 'domestic' to 'public' (as indeed we might expect following the discussion of this in feminist and anthropological literature [58]). If men know about politics and administration, women know about names, ritualized mourning, and body painting using styluses. The men, in response to questions on these subjects, claim ignorance [59]. Lea shows that the male-female complementary opposition is constitutive of 'society' through both male and female agency. She therefore disagrees with those who see the constitution of 'society' in these cases in terms of male agency effecting the separation of maleness and the social from the peripheral female domain. She comments:

> 'In other words, it is not just the women who must be maintained in their place, but also the men' (Ibid:375)

This conclusion represents a considerable advance in our understanding of gender and social organization in this Lowland context. It is no longer possible to proceed, as Rivière has done, upon the assumption that the Central Brazilian systems have been well described and analysed, and may be used unquestioned for structuralist comparison. Cashinahua social organization is dualist like the Central Brazilian systems. It may be seen as a 'transformation' of them. Equally Cashinahua social organization may be depicted as a transformation of the endogamous, introverted systems of the Guianas. But if the postulated structure in each case is questionable, as I have shown them to be in this section, then the comparative attempt on structuralist grounds is bound to fail. I would argue that comparison must make use of more of the data, not less (as Lévi-Strauss asserted in his programme for the analysis of 'social structure' [60]). In particular anthropologists should concentrate now on ideas of 'sociality' and linked conceptualizations of personhood and gender. This will lead to a more precise comparative ethnography of social relations, their conceptualization and practice. A focus on gender and personhood with a comparative view in mind would be very fruitful. In the next section I turn to these subjects.

Gender and Personhood

Lea, like most Gê specialists, makes use of a notion of personhood derived from Mauss's (1938) essay on the subject. Mauss was concerned to describe an evolutionary sequence in the conceptualization of personhood leading up to the Western notion of 'moral person' and the autonomous individual [61]. Mauss said that the integrated psychological and biological individual, the 'self', is universal; and the idea of 'personnage' or role, a kind of mask or social cloak which could be thrown over the individual, is typical of tribal societies. Only in Europe did the social notion of moral person (where internal and external aspects were both known and integrated) develop out of this [62]. In the first, earliest (in Mauss's terms) contrast, between self and 'personnage', the students of the Gê have found their vocabulary for the description of personhood.

Like Mauss, Seeger (et al) (1979) oppose Western and 'tribal' notions of personhood. In the latter, the emphasis falls on the 'social notion of the individual when he is considered by his collective side' (Ibid). They make sure that their approach is not mistaken for British structuralism: the notion of social person (personagem) is an implicit or explicit category of native thought they say, and not a tool for the separation of individual from society. This latter dichotomy has led to such separations as occupant from jural role (as Radcliffe-Brown), kinship from descent (as Evans-Pritchard), complementary filiation from descent (as Fortes), communitas from structure (Turner) or social organization from social structure (Firth). Such models posit for them an abstract man operating in the interior of structures. (And this understanding also underlies Viveiros de Castro's later critique of Rivière (1984)) [63]. By contrast to the British approach, Seeger (et al) say, their position belongs to Mauss's tradition - that the collective categories of a society are formative of the concrete practice and organization of the society.

The problem with their subsequent formulation of this native view is that it bears a close resemblance to the intellectual products of the individual-society dichotomy to which they take exception. To quote (my translation):

> '.. among the Gê of Central Brazil, the basic dualism between domestic sphere (village periphery) and public-ceremonial sphere (village centre) is basically a complementary opposition between the domain structured in terms of a logic of physical substance (production of individuals, of foods, association by ties of substance) and the domain structured in terms of relations of naming or age class, relations which "deny" the ties of substance. The human body, amongst the Gê, seems to be divided in the same way: internal aspects, linked to blood and semen, to physical reproduction, and external aspects, linked to the name, to public roles, to ceremonial - to the social world, in short. (Ibid:11)

They go on to note that the body and not the clan or 'corporate group' is the point of convergence, in Lowland South America, for the opposition between individual and collective or social. The best model of this convergence is to be found amongst the Gê. Seeger (et al) thus posit an elementary structure, founded on the analysis of Gê corporeality in relation to social organization. Despite their critique of structuralism, the authors have reproduced the basic elements of the structuralist model. Transactions are no longer between groups (a point with which following Overing (1977) most Americanists would probably agree) but between aspects of the person, the 'physical self' and the 'social self'. This transaction (a covering over as in Mauss's personnage) is extrapolated to a social level in the ceremonial and public life of the village. A crucial feature of the extrapolation is the structural position of women, and the associated symbolic force of female gender, located as it is in the village 'periphery'. Despite Seeger (et al) calling for a rethinking of the Nature/Culture dichotomy, for a processual model of the dialectic for which they take it to stand in this case, their own model of the person and of 'society' subverts their intentions. They call for a reexamination of the dialectical relation between domains (so that we do not fall into a static formalism). Such an ambition (from my point of view) is laudable; but they go on to characterize this dialectic as one in which the natural 'is domesticated by the group', and the social is 'naturalized in the world of animals'. They are assuming, *a priori*, that the 'natural' is feminine in gender to the Gê; and that the social is imposed upon it to tame it (and they cite the corpus of mythology as their evidence for the latter relation). My position with regard to this dialectic between male- and female-associated domains is different, and concomitantly the indigenous notion of the person which I explore differs significantly from the Maussian model as 'Gê-ologists' have employed it.

I argue that the relationship between name (generally equated with 'social persona') and body (generally equated with 'biological persona') is thought in terms of a complex and processual dialectic, and not in terms of the imposition of category upon organic form. Lea's discussion of the relationship seems to point in this direction, when she quotes Melatti (1978) who expressed doubts as to the absolute nature of the biological-social dichotomy. He suggested that the real dichotomy (to the Gê mind) is between perishable and imperishable aspects of the body, and not between personagem and body. These comments would apply to the Cashinahua - and the dialectic generated is fundamental to social organization, as we shall see. Lea, however, only goes so far as to say that the names and other aspects of the social person are thought of metaphorically as a 'skin' which envelope the individual during life, but are recuperated at the hour of death for the benefit of society (Ibid:382). I concentrate on the lived relation between name and body for the Cashinahua rather than the formal structuring of the transmission of names.

One suggestive interpretation of the relation between name and body is C.Crocker's approach to the subject in the Bororo case. His analysis of Bororo social organization is concerned to show how a series of 'interlocked dyadic principles ... generate a uniquely Bororo processual dialectic' (1979:250). These principles govern the logical character of the matrilineal clans, of domestic households, and agnatic and affinal bonds, he says, providing the basis for all social interactions. Crocker's approach is both structuralist and processual at once, then. He begins with structural analysis at a logical level, and then comes back to a vision of social process as the dialectical playing out of the logical consequences of the principles he isolates.

He describes the Bororo conception of the life cycle as a progression from formless and polluting substance (at birth) through various stages to pure category (or 'soul') at death. Men and women, he says, are most abstracted from category/soul when they are engaged in sex and reproduction; they are closest to it when old, and near death. However, women are never able to escape the fundamental paradox of personhood, which is that humans are made up of natural force (associated with raka or 'blood') and social identity (associated with clan membership and activities (1985:113). The structural location of 'natural force' as it is expressed in sex is the woman's house, since the Bororo practise uxorilocality. Men thus expend their natural force away from the women and men with whom they share social identity: they are, according to Crocker, structurally enabled to separate their natural from their social selves. Women can only do this by refraining from sex. As people grow older, their 'natural force' diminishes and the importance of their soul-aspect increases. They spend more and more time engaging this aspect in ceremonial interaction with members of the opposite moiety - interaction which according to Crocker is opposed to sexual interaction.

In Crocker's model we can see a refined variation of some of the major themes of the standard Gê model, as if he were answering Seeger (et al)'s call for a rethinking of the Nature/Culture dialectic. He warns us that the principle conceptual opposition which underlies the dialectical thinking of Bororo (aroe or soul/categorical form versus bope or a principle of vitality) is not consonant with an opposition between nature and culture (1985:121). This is because both soul and vital force (raka) are present in all entities, human and otherwise. The originality of Crocker's approach lies in his formulation of this insight, (which was prefigured in the works of C. and S. Hugh-Jones - see chapter 5). However, his structuralist analysis of the relationship men and women have to 'social identity' and 'natural self' (as distinct from the bope/aroe contrast) bears a striking resemblance to the social/biological persona contrast discussed above. Subjacent is the idea that the female domain associated with 'nature' must be transcended by men in the construction of society. Indeed, for Crocker (1979) the aroe category is associated with men, and the bope with women. Crocker links 'nature' to female gender because for him women represent sexuality and reproductive agency, which is opposed to social interaction defined from a male perspective [64]. Social interaction is seen as becoming progressively abstracted from youthful life, in a model which resembles perhaps a Bororo shaman's vision of the world, rather more than a strong young man's. The sexual domain is controlled by male dealings in category in the ceremonial sphere. Whilst women are not exchanged, their sexuality (in this model) can be. Thus Crocker says of the exchange of meat between men after a collective hunt that it

> "..May be regarded as an elaborate metaphoric parallel to the exchange of feminine sexuality between moieties". (1985:166)

Such a vision of the transactability of aspects of womanhood, as I have stressed above, is an effect of the structuralist enterprise, and not an appropriate recasting of an indigenous practice or concept. I do not think Crocker gives evidence to support the idea that the Bororo think of 'feminine sexuality' as either abstractable or transactable. On the contrary, he shows that sexuality is an non-transactable and processual aspect of personhood for both men and women, one that is properly shared with spouses, and not transacted between male moieties. It is precisely his demonstration of this, and of its complex relation to such concepts as bope and aroe that I have found valuable in helping me understand the Cashinahua.

My understanding of the Cashinahua derives partly from an attempt to avoid the language of structuralism, of concepts implied in such phrases as 'exchange between social groups', 'values transacted', 'structural levels', and 'Nature and Culture'. Above all, I have tried to develop a way of talking about Cashinahua concepts of the social that does not imply that they paint pictures of ideal social forms in their minds.

Instead, I wish to capture the dynamic that they see in social life, and the 'audacity' that they exhibit in their social thinking [65].

At the outset I asserted that the thesis is a processual analysis based upon a critique of structuralist modes of analysing social organization. I have used a very wide definition of structure which covers both functionalist theories of a Durkheimian type, and culturalist approaches such as that of the standard Gê model. I have shown how such models stand behind 'neo-Marxist' theories of process. I believe that at this stage we can only advance our understanding of the specific nature of Lowland South American societies by proceeding from such a general critique. I do not doubt, however, that such an advance can only come from the position to which structuralism has taken us. This is a point that I wish to emphasize. The analysis of Cashinahua social organization that I shall propose below will be 'processual' in a double sense then; both as a portrayal of social life as dynamically conceived and practised, and as a development of my own understanding that has grown out of the many 'structuralist' works to which I will allude. I think that the building of structures is integral to the process of understanding 'fieldwork data'. It will also become apparent that I myself have constantly relied upon structuralist techniques as I try to understand the Cashinahua. Indeed, I begin in chapter 1 with an outline of one structuralist analysis of Cashinahua social organization. I conclude with a critical discussion of it in terms of empirical residence patterns. In this way I try to fix an initial image of the Cashinahua in the reader's mind (just as I fixed one for myself). But this image is the beginning, not the end, of analysis.

Methods of Fieldwork

I arrived in Brazil in mid-November 1983. After several weeks in Rio de Janeiro I travelled to Brasilia where for 3 weeks I awaited my documents and attended meetings organizing a congress of indigenous people's leaders. This initial period was more useful when I finally arrived amongst the Cashinahua than I could, at that time, have predicted. They are involved in a political movement with links to Southern Brazil like many other indigenous people there.

In January 1984 I flew to Rio Branco, capital of the Amazonian state of Acre (see Map 1). Here I met many people involved in local level pro-indigenous movements and in other projects concerned with the 'non-Indian' rubber tapper population. I visited the offices of the Pro-Indian Commission (CPI-AC), and of the advisory body for missionaries (CIMI) and the fledgling branch of the Indigenous People's Union (UNI). I also visited the Casa dos Índios, where indigenous leaders and their sick relatives stay at the expense of the Brazilian National Indian Agency FUNAI [66]. I also presented my documents at the FUNAI office.

Rio Branco was my base in the coming two years. I was to discover that it was a field site just as much as the various Cashinahua settlements that I stayed in. It is the focus of much Cashinahua political and economic activity and is a meeting ground for 'Indians' from all over Acre. I do not pretend to have been an exemplary fieldworker in Rio Branco, since its interest as an area of study was balanced by its value as a place where I could relax . Besides, as I became more familiar with the people and issues involved in pro-indigenous politics, and they with me, I was drawn more and more into various projects concerned to promote indigenous rights to land, and to health and education services. This participation enabled me to collect information which might otherwise have escaped my attention.

Foreigners are expected, by the Cashinahua, to play a certain role in their lives. When I finally flew from Rio Branco to the entrepôt town of Sena Madeireira on the Purus river, (it was the rainy season), I was unaware of this fact. There I met the leader of the village where I was to stay and I discovered that all my fears of rejection were unfounded. I was accepted at once, given a name (and thus a kinship position) and asked for a loan of one hundred dollars. Later I learnt that I was expected to be teacher, nurse and substitute cooperative manager, before being a pupil of Cashinahua language and culture. As far as 'my' leader, Pancho Lopes was concerned my own interests were unimportant in comparison to immediate community needs. This put me in the position of having to fight the idea that I should run the village school for all the rest of the period of fieldwork. As far as being a nurse was concerned, my failings at this were soon revealed; and after an initial unwanted stint at the helm of the coop shop (which luckily had nothing much in it besides some medicines and a few boxes of matches and candles) I was never asked to take over again.

All fieldworkers, missionaries, government agents and visitors from the city that the Cashinahua have known have played an active part in their lives. Some, like the SIL missionaries, have come backed with tremendous economic and logistic resources. Others, like CIMI volunteers and representatives of the Pro-Indian Commission have come with fighting ideas and, eventually, NGO money for projects. The Cashinahua and other peoples like them had come to expect either help or interference from persons like myself. They were surprised and not all that gratified when I demonstrated serious desire to learn their language and participate in economic and social life alongside them. As far as the leaders at the least were concerned, they were pleased by the respect which I showed for their way of life, and sometimes willing to teach me, but this was not the main purpose of my stay.

I should not exagerate these difficulties. I managed to stay for a total of 12 months in one village and engage in participant observation between February 1984 and June 1985. This was the village of Recreio, located 3 days to one week upriver on the Purus from the small town of Manuel Urbano, and about two weeks from Sena Madureira. I chose this village because I knew it to be monolingual in Cashinahua, and independent of the nearby FUNAI post, one hour upriver by motorboat at Fronteira. I felt that I would be able to learn the language more easily in such a place, and avoid identification with the Indian agent. This proved to be the case. For most of my stay, in fact, no agent or nurse was present in Fronteira and we were cut off from FUNAI regional headquarters through lack of petrol to fuel the radio.

In Recreio and Fronteira I collected genealogical and demographic data, made notes on residence and household composition and on everything that might have a bearing on gender and personhood, and conducted a number of unpaid interviews and recording sessions of chants and myths. I also spent much time learning the practical aspects of the Cashinahua style (and to a lesser extent the local regional style) of living in the forest and on the river. In particular I spent many hours engaged in female productive activities. During this time (1984-85) I also paid a number of visits to nearby Cashinahua settlements, and made one prolonged trip to the villages upriver in Peru. In the summer and autumn of 1985 I visited the Jordão area, partially on behalf of the Pro-Indian Commission education project, as an assessor of 3 of the 6 new schools. I spent time observing the lessons, the political meetings to discuss the progress of the schools and attached cooperatives and made rough notes on residence, which differed in some respects from the Purus. I also made recordings, conducted interviews and participated in social and economic life.

I finally left the field, somewhat dramatically, in October 1985, having summoned a FUNAI light aircraft to pick up a woman who was dangerously ill. I had managed to acquire an overview of all the Cashinahua (with the exception of those who live on the Énvira and Humaitá rivers) and an understanding of the broad differences between them. I had also learnt their language well enough to be able to hold one-to-one discussions, understand the gist and some detail of most conversations and even to give halting speeches in Cashinahua. I had, moreover, a close acquaintance with one particular community.

CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY

In the first section I outline Kensinger's analysis of the crucial structural features of Cashinahua social organization. In this way I provide some basic data and at the same time create an initial impression of the Cashinahua - one that will be transformed progressively in the thesis. In the next section I begin the transformation by discussing the historical and geographical origins of the contemporary Cashinahua. This section deals with the social and economic history of their region of Western Amazonia and shows their part in it. In the thesis I will refer back to this section to show how changes within Cashinahua culture are dialectically generated in this context, and are not explicable in terms of theories of 'acculturation', 'ethnocide' or other such concepts [1]. Finally, in the last section of the chapter I present a portrait of one particular Cashinahua community, the Alto Purus Indigenous Area (Área Indígena Alto Purus, which I shall refer to as the AIAP). I discuss its historical origins in terms of the movements of its principal founders through some of the events and places touched on in the second section. This last section includes a brief demographic analysis of the AIAP and an account of residence which has resonances (and dissonances) with Kensinger's structural analysis presented in the first section.

Section 1: Cashinahua "Social Structure"

There are about 3,000 Cashinahua living in both Brazil and Peru along the upper reaches of two of the main tributaries of the Amazon, the Jurua and Purus, or their headwaters (see Map 1). The Cashinahua are slash-and-burn agriculturalists, cultivating corn, peanuts, banana and sweet manioc. They hunt, fish, tap rubber, and produce woven cotton goods, both along the major rivers of the region and in the interfluvial areas. Their settlement size ranges from 5 to 1,000, though the norm is between 50-150 people. In many ways they are typical of the indigenous Amazonian peoples classified by Steward and Faron (1959) as the 'Tropical Forest Tribes'.

Kensinger's early articles on Cashinahua social and political organization, marriage, and kinship [(ms 1); (1975); (1977); (1984]) are now the standard source on these subjects. Kensinger allies a structuralist perspective to componential analysis, taking Goodenough as his mentor. In his papers he analyses a number of key terms such as *mae* ('community' or 'village'), *ainwan* (to take a wife'), *benewan* ('to take a husband'), and *nabu* ('kin'), in terms of 'three overlapping binary polarities' which can be translated as real versus unreal, true versus false, central versus peripheral, and so on [2]. He argues that the Cashinahua have an ideal image of kinship, residence, and so on, which can be understood through his discussion of the three polarities. He is careful to note, nevertheless, that this 'emic' theory never does conform to 'etic' practice. Thus the real structures of villages in terms of residence composition never conform to the detailed ideal structures contained in his analysis of informants' accounts. They do however conform to 'emic' models as variations (in Cashinahua eyes) of a 'single structural unit' [3]. Kensinger writes:

> 'The ideal Cashinahua village, mae kuin-1, would consist of two focal males, who are double first crosscousins and have exchanged sisters in marriage, their wives, their sons who have exchanged sisters in marriage and are living with their respective fathers-in-law, and their grandchildren' [4].

The 'focal males' (primary political leaders) should also have other kin living with them, such as brothers married to their wives' sisters. They should belong to opposite moieties, either *inu* ('jaguar') or *dua* ('shining one'). Sisters belong to the same moiety as their brothers and fathers, and to the opposite moiety from their mothers, so Kensinger designates the moieties 'patrimoieties'. The female moiety designations are *inani* (male *inu*), and *banu* (male *dua*). Ideally the focal males and their wives between them should know all the rituals, and one man would be a 'herbalist', the other a 'shaman' (see Kensinger (1973) and (1974) on this). Marriage is moiety exogamous; furthermore, a person should marry a member of the appropriate marriage section. The 'sections' are named groups similar to Australian sections according to Kensinger, defined by the transmission of names between alternating generations. A woman's MM is her namesake and a man's FF is his namesake, and namesakes belong to the same marriage section. Figure 1 represents this, the basic structure of Kensinger's 'ideal village', which is summed up in the first polarity mae kuin-1.

Most of the details of the ideal never obtain, Kensinger says. But villages do conform to the third polarity (mae kayabi-3) as described by his informants. These are simply 'proper' as opposed to 'ideal' villages, though of course the two images of village denoted by each polarity are, in Kensinger's words, structural variations of each other. In the 'proper villages' two focal males who have exchanged sisters in marriage do indeed belong to opposed moities and are members of sections linked by reciprocal marriage exchange (1977:5). They belong to the same generational level. Together with their wives and children they constitute, he says, an 'atom of social organization'. Finally, the households of the focal males are the 'social core' of the proper village, whose population should ideally be about 50-100.

The village ought theoretically to be socially, politically and economically autonomous as an endogamous unit disposing of enough land. Kensinger notes that the ideal is never entirely achieved, but that even if visitors are treated well upon arrival, they are always suspect and disliked whether Cashinahua or foreign, *Nava*. This has led many readers to think of the Cashinahua as largely conforming to the 'ideal autonomy' described by Kensinger, which is far from the reality, as I will show. I would not use the term 'patrimoiety', since name transmission and therefore moiety membership is best characterized here as bilineally ordered [5]. Tribute must be paid to Kensinger for his detailed knowledge of the Cashinahua of Peru and his pioneering analytical work. However I intend to show that the theoretical orientation of these early papers, and in particular their structuralist bent, leaves us with a vision of the Cashinahua that is far from satisfactory. We get the feeling that they would prefer to live in a timelessly ordered world, turned in upon themselves and away from each other and from history in discussion of

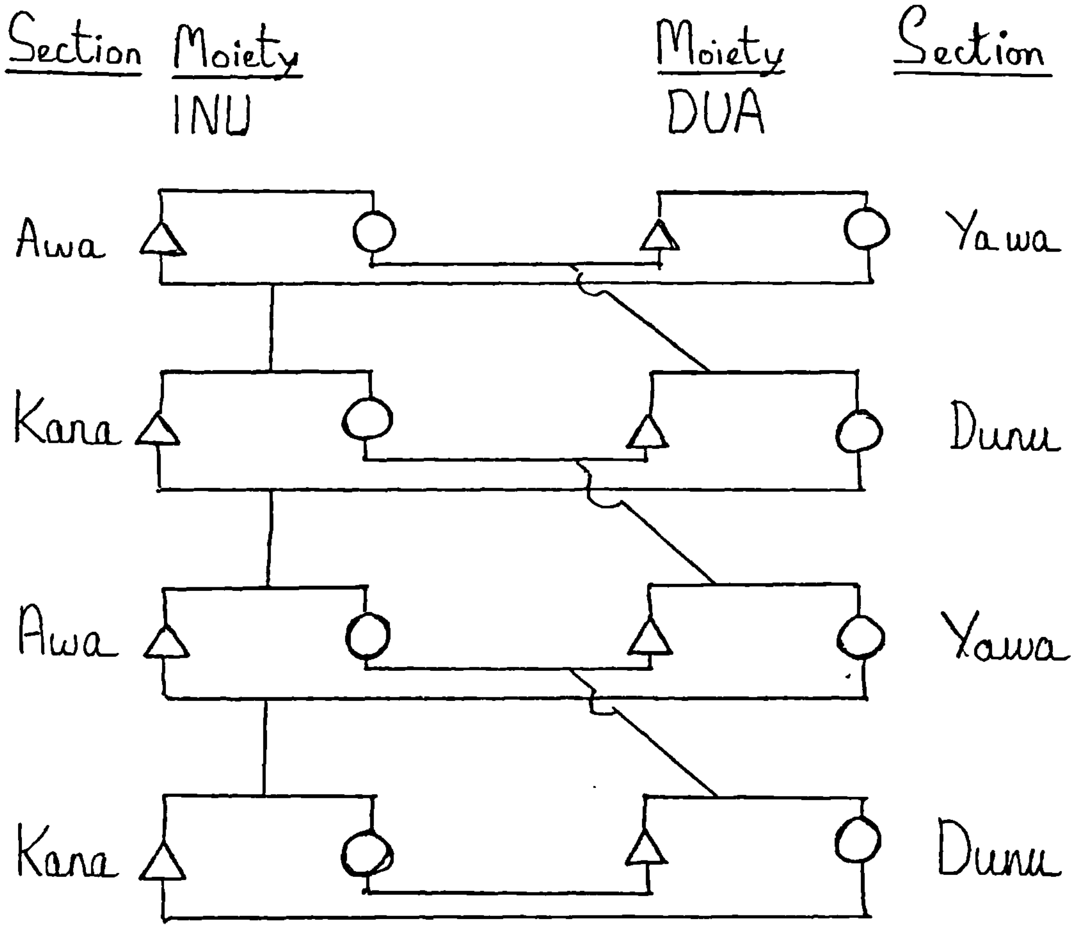

Section
Moiety
INU
Moiety
DUA
Section
Awa
Yawa
Kana
Dunu
Awa
Yawa
Kana
Dunu

FIGURE 1 : Kensinger's Depiction of "The Relationship of Sister Exchange, Double First Cross Cousin Marriage, Moieties, and Marriage Sections".

NOTE: In the original the moieties and sections are written with the suffix '*-bakebu*' which means 'children of'. Thus 'Awabakebu' can be glossed as 'Children of Tapir', 'Inubakebu' as 'Children of Jaguar' and so on. See Kensinger (1984).

the minutiae of the linked conceptual oppositions upon which their social system is based. I do not think Kensinger meant to leave this impression with his readers, although this is undoubtedly what he has done.

It is not my intention to flesh out this critique of Kensinger's methodology here, since I do so where appropriate below. Instead, I would like to conclude with some comments on categorization of kinds of people. The Cashinahua call themselves "*Juni Kuin*" ('Real People'), a self-designation they use in common with neighbouring groups who speak Panoan languages. Traditionally, it seems, these Panoan neighbours like the Sharanahua and the Yaminahua were also *Juni Kuin* in Cashinahua eyes. Nowadays the term is adapted in the Brazilian context to refer to all 'Indians', even the disliked Kulina [6]. These latter are not however included in the category *nukun nabu* ('our relatives') whilst Panoan speakers are; thus the terms *juni kuin* and *nukun nabu* have partially overlapping referents. Both are opposed to the category *nava* ('foreigner') which I shall henceforth write Nawa. One characteristic of this opposition from the Cashinahua point-of-view is the difference between people who have an alternating generation namesake system, and people who do not. The concepts involved are complex, and difficult to sum up. I shall return to them often. The conceptual opposition between 'real people' and 'foreigners', or same and different kinds of people, is a crucial one in the social process, and discussion of it plays a central part in the thesis. The next section provides the background to contemporary Cashinahua usage.

Section 2: A Short History of the Cashinahua

(a) Introduction

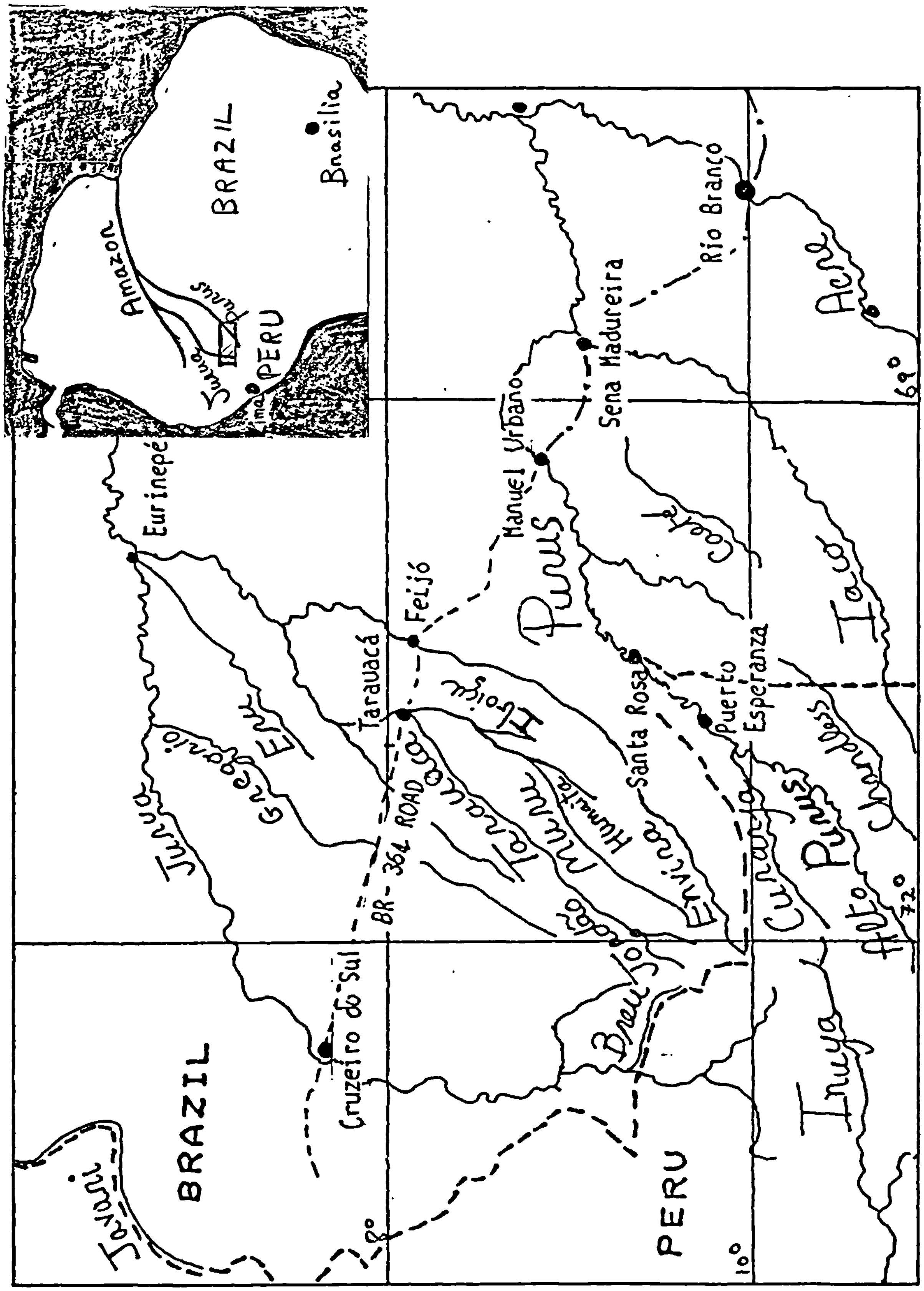
Since the first period for which historical records are available, the Cashinahua have lived in the upper Jurua-Purus area of the Amazonian lowland tropical forest region of Brazil and Peru [7]. These two rivers are major tributaries of the Amazon. They originate in rugged terrain East of the Andes, but except for the uppermost reaches they are free of rapids and open to shallow draught navigation. This entire region is covered in dense lowland forest, in some areas practically impenetrable.

Most of this forest still stands today, but around the towns and especially along the road network, large "ranches" have been cleared. The extent of this clearing is not, as yet, serious in the Cashinahua region.

This area is divided between the Brazilian state of Acre, and the Peruvian upper Purus region based on the trading outpost and military station Puerto Esperanza. The Cashinahua are scattered through this huge area, living in settlements ranging in size from single family houses to concentrated villages of over 500 people (see Map 1).

There are two main seasons, the rainy, which lasts from about October to April, and the dry, during the European summer months. At the time of transition from rainy to dry, there is a short period of intense cold and occasional drizzle, sometimes accompanied by wind, which is known locally as the friagem. These spells last from a few days to a week, and might occur several times between April and July, interrupting the fine weather of the "summer", verão. During the "winter", inverno, rain falls nearly every day and by early November the tracks and roads are again soft and muddy. By mid-January many are impassable, and travellers must go by plane or river, or wait until the summer sun has done its work, a few months after the first friagem passes. It is a land of mud or dust, and an almost total absence of stone.

Rivers are the lifeline of the people of Acre. Supplies are brought upriver and rubber floated down. When the rivers are low during the summer months, and even shallow-draught boats get stuck on sand-banks and submerged trees, many essentials are in short supply unless a boss or coop manager has managed to build up stocks during the time of high waters. Even if he has, the weather is too damp and the insects and fungus too omni-present for storage to be particularily successful. This is an area of short-life property. Even land is short-life, for the rivers change course annually, and houses can be washed away in a night. During the summer, the crops of beans and corn and watermelon which the people have planted on the beaches mature, ready for picking in September and October. After this, the waters rise again, covering the


BRAZIL
Brasilia
Amazon
Purus
Jurua
PERU
Lima
Rio Branco
Acre
Sena Madureira
Manuel Urbano
Eurinepé
Feijó
Purus
Tarauacá
Envira
Gregorio
Caeté
Iaco
Chandless
Santa Rosa
Puerto Esperanza
Humaitá
Muru
Tarauacá
BR-364 ROAD
Jordão
Breu
Cruzeiro do Sul
Jurua
Envira
Curanja
Purus
Alto Purus
Inuya
Javari
BRAZIL
PERU
8°
10°
72°
68°

MAP 1: The Upper Jurua and Purus Region

low-lying areas with fertile alluvial soil, ready for next May's planting. On the high land, or terra alta, the Acreanos build their stilt houses and plant their manioc gardens. The land is generally of poor quality, and shifting cultivation is practised away from the beaches.

There is an abundance of rubber trees of several varieties in most of Acre. In Peru the Hevea Brasiliensis (the most important species) ceases to grow, and only Castilloa Elastica is found. This has been of some consequence in the history of the settlement of the region by colonists from Brazilian and Peruvian sides of the border.

All the rivers in the region follow extremely tortuous courses, although occasionally long straight stretches, known as esteirão, interrupt their winding progress. Hills of no more than 500 metres in height are to be found especially in the region between the upper Jordão and Tarauacá, and the Jurua region. The affluents on the right bank of the Tarauacá, including the Énvira which is a major river in itself, run roughly parallel and follow the low lying ground between parallel swells of "highland" from whence their headwaters drain. Rubber is to be found here too. It is possible to walk across this region following paths kept clear by the rubber tappers, but the journey is arduous, and people prefer to travel downriver to a town where they can pick up a flight or, in the summer, catch a bus on the one road which cross-cuts the territory. This is only open several months of the year, so contact between rivers is limited, and between the two river systems even more so. A standard slow trek from the upper Énvira to the Purus takes roughly ten days. From the upper Curanja to the Jordão takes about a month, because the area is not inhabited by settled rubber tappers. Noone cares to make this journey nowadays, since there are occasional skirmishes with uncontacted indigenous peoples.

River journeys are also time-consuming, though considerably easier. It takes 7-10 days by canoe with outboard to reach the mouth of the Jordão from the city of Tarauacá, for example. From Sena Madureira on the mouth of the Iaco, to the AIAP takes roughly the same amount of time.

(b) Early Colonization - the Nineteenth Century

Earliest colonially-inspired incursions into the region, in the form ot slave raids, took place in the eighteenth century, but were temporary and the raiders have left no written descriptions of whom they took or what they found [8]. At the beginning of the Nineteenth century traders were venturing up the two rivers, which were still shrouded in mystery. The earliest detailed written reports we have were presented by the English geographer Chandless in the 1860s [9]. He arrived just as the economic exploitation of the Jurua and Purus rivers was being considered by the Brazilian government. From at least 1850 Amazonian people, from the state of Para, had been making summer journeys along the rivers to collect wild produce or drogas, such as rubber, sarsaparilla, cacao, and copaiba oil. The earlier seasonal expeditions had experimented with agriculture along the beaches, but this proved less profitable than extraction of natural produce. It was this that was to shape the next 100 years of the history of this region.

The indigenous peoples who were already settled along the rivers of present-day Acre belonged to 3 main language groups, Panoan, Arawakan, and Aruã. The Panoan speakers (including the ancestors of the Cashinahua) lived north of the Purus, and along the Jurua and its tributaries [10]. Different groups reacted in different ways to the traders, who despite the slave raids of earlier years were able to operate relatively safely. the Panoan speakers of the upper Jurua avoided contact at this time, so we have no records of the social organization of the region.

Settlers began to arrive in increasing numbers after Chandless paid his two visits. This was a direct consequence of the growing importance of rubber on the world market, after the invention of vulcanization in 1844 [11]. The repeated droughts in the Northeast of Brazil caused successive waves of migration from 1857 onwards. Relatively few Amazonians came, and the language spoken was Portuguese and not Lingoa Geral [12]. By 1873 two Engish visitors were able to say that the Purus that it was "quite the headquarters of ..... manufacturing Indian rubber" [13]. In 1887 the explorer Labre gave the following description of the river Acre, one of the smaller tributaries of the Purus, and the present location of the state capital, Rio Branco:

> 'This river is one of the most populous affluents of the Purus, and exports 500,000 kilos of goma elastica...It has a population of 10,000 souls, without including the aborigines who are more than double that. Its commerce is made by means of 15 great steamers, which, during the flood, navigate the river, taking annually new workers and new merchandise'. [14]

Similarily, the Jurua and its affluents was settled, up to the Breu on the present frontier with Peru, almost entirely by Nordestinos, by 1894 [15]. Two years before this, the first settlers entered the mouth of the Muru, affluent of the Tarauacá and home territory of the Cashinahua. They were killed, but the following year the first seringal or rubber estate, Maceio, was opened up a few miles above the confluence with the Muru. By 1900 colonists had reached the Jordão, and the last seringal on the Tarauacá, Minas, was founded in 1903.

During the 1880s the Cashinahua dominated the right bank of the Muru, and its affluents on that side, the Iboiçu and the Humaitá [16]. The left bank was dominated by Aruã speaking Kulina, who had been pushed upriver from the Chiruan region around the 1860s [17]. They were at odds with the Cashinahua [18]. There were also Cashinahua on the right bank of the Énvira, but it is not clear when they arrived there from the Muru [19]. In 1905 these were said to be the most populous group of Cashinahua (see Aquino 1977).

The worst violence between Nordestino colonists on the Muru and indigenous peoples did not occur until the 1900s. First contact appears to have been relatively peaceful. But in 1896 the Peruvians appeared in the Tarauacá area, and two years later the first planned massacres or correrias of the indigenous peoples began [20]. The Peruvians were roaming through this area in search of caucho, an inferior form of rubber collected by felling the tree Castilloa Elastica. The Brazilians on the other hand were looking to settle in the regions where the tree

Hevea Brasiliensis was to be found, which they tapped rather than felled. The two nationalities fought for the possession of the area (officially Bolivian at the time). Most of the Peruvians, who arrived via the portages connecting the upper Jurua and Purus to the Ucayali region, passed on to the South and the Purus. Among them were the famous Fitzcarrald and his equally notorious henchman, Carlos Sharff. The latter succeeded in wresting control of the upper Purus and Chandless from Brazilian colonists, who fled downriver. But a year later, in 1903, a military expedition drove him out. In the Jurua the Amonea conflict of 1904 put an end to Peruvian claims to the region [21]. The Peruvians retained control of the uppermost reaches of the Purus and Jurua rivers, as was decided by the joint Brazilian-Peruvian border commission of 1904-5 [22].

By 1913 the indigenous population in the Tarauacá and Jurua region was one tenth of the settler population. Back on the Muru and the Énvira, the Cashinahua were suffering from the effects of contact. Many appear to have died at this time from epidemics. Others perished in the correrrias, ('organized massacres'). A group were taken by the government missionary service to the Gregorio and the upper Primavera [23]. But some were persuaded to become the workers of the more adventurous Brazilian rubber bosses. A man called Felizardo Cequiera persuaded a group from the Iboiçu to work for him on the upper Énvira collecting caucho. After 1919 he moved to the Tarauacá, where he and some Cashinahua participated in the massacre of the Papavo. One remaining survivor of this group, a little boy at the time, still lives in the town of Tarauacá. By 1924 Felizardo and his Cashinahua had moved to the upper Jordâo. This is where they were to stay, and their descendants are the present-day occupants of the 6 upper seringais of the river. Many of the older Cashinahua there are tatooed with the initials "F.C.", which signalled their relationship to their boss.

The Cashinahua of the Énvira were similarily grouped together - on at least two seringais, hunting for the bosses and collecting rubber [24]. But relations were unfriendly, and were to reach a climax sometime between 1910 and 1920 [25]. This is how one Cashinahua, now settled on the Purus, told me the story:

> My ancestors lived in malocas at a place called Seringal União (see Map 7 below). They used to hunt for the boss, who was called Patricio. He and the Cariú decided that they wanted to get rid of my people, but as they were scheming one night a woman overheard them. They wanted to round up all the Cashinahua in a corral, and then exterminate them. She ran home to tell her family, and they decided to strike first. At night they went through the forest to each settler's house and killed them. They also killed all the people at the headquarters of the seringal, and then emptied the store-house of everything, machetes, cloth, guns, ammunition, everything. They put it in the boss's boat and set out upriver as far as they could go. Then they abandoned the boat and walked, carrying everything with them. They continued for weeks and weeks, until they came to the headwaters of the Curanja. And there they stayed, until the last machete was worn out, and they were obliged to make contact with the Foreigners again.

This was not until the 1940s, when Peruvian traders were beginning to make their reappearance on the upper Purus.

The Cashinahua of today live in the following areas: the Jordão river and environs; the Énvira; the Humaitá, (where they had first been encountered in the 1890s); and along the upper Purus and its tributary the Curanja. Remarkably, the vast distances between these groups of Cashinahua have not destroyed the ties between them, and, small groups make the arduous journey from one area to another from time to time, to settle and intermarry. In this way, all the Cashinahua are interconnected.

(c) The Aviamento System - 1870-1970

The exploitation of rubber was organized according to a system of debt clientage called aviamento ('supplying'; 'fitting out'). The patrões ('bosses') were supplied by large commercial enterprises of Manaus or Belem, and they supplied their fregueses ('clients') in exchange for rubber [26]. Money rarely changed hands in the system, which was organized so that the tappers were kept permanently in debt. This system continues in operation in modern Acre.

Most of the bosses and the tappers or seringueiros came from the Northeast of Brazil. The big companies and a few local potentates had control of the land by the 1910s [27]. It was divided into huge estates or seringais, but control was of rubber trees rather than the land itself, which was owned de facto rather than de jure. The estate 'owners' or seringalistas organized the flow upriver of cheap indentured labour, and the flow downriver of highly priced rubber. They formed an elite club which kept the seringueiros in subjection [28]. The chain of debt and credit extended from the banks in London or the USA through the companies, owners, managers to the tappers themselves. Their lot was a hard one, and many ended their days in Acre [29]. They were to become the Cariú, the 'non-Indian' people of the region, called Nawa by the Cashinahua (who are in turn classified as indios or caboclos - 'indians') [30].

The estate or seringal is still organized as it was then [31]. The organizational centre is located by the main river and the tappers are distributed through the forest and along the rivers and streams wherever there are sufficient rubber trees. Their settlements (colocação) are the beginning and endpoint for 2 or more rubber paths or estradas, which link up the trees which can be found between 25 to 100 metres apart. Figure 2 is a representation of a seringal.

During the height of the rubber boom, tappers were prevented from agriculture or hunting, and were obliged to work exclusively on rubber collection. They bought their food from the boss, along with all the other supplies. Several small towns sprang up along the supply lines, the largest of which was Cruzeiro do Sul, population 6,000 in 1913. It is estimated that 100,000 settlers came to the Jurua and Purus region between 1877 and 1913. Of that, about 8,000 lived in the rubber-rich upper Tarauacá and upper Énvira rivers, traditional home of the Cashinahua [32]. The indigenous population had shrunk drastically, due to the epidemics and massacres which they suffered. A rough estimate suggests that there were by now ten times as many Cariu settlers as there were 'caboclos' in Acre.

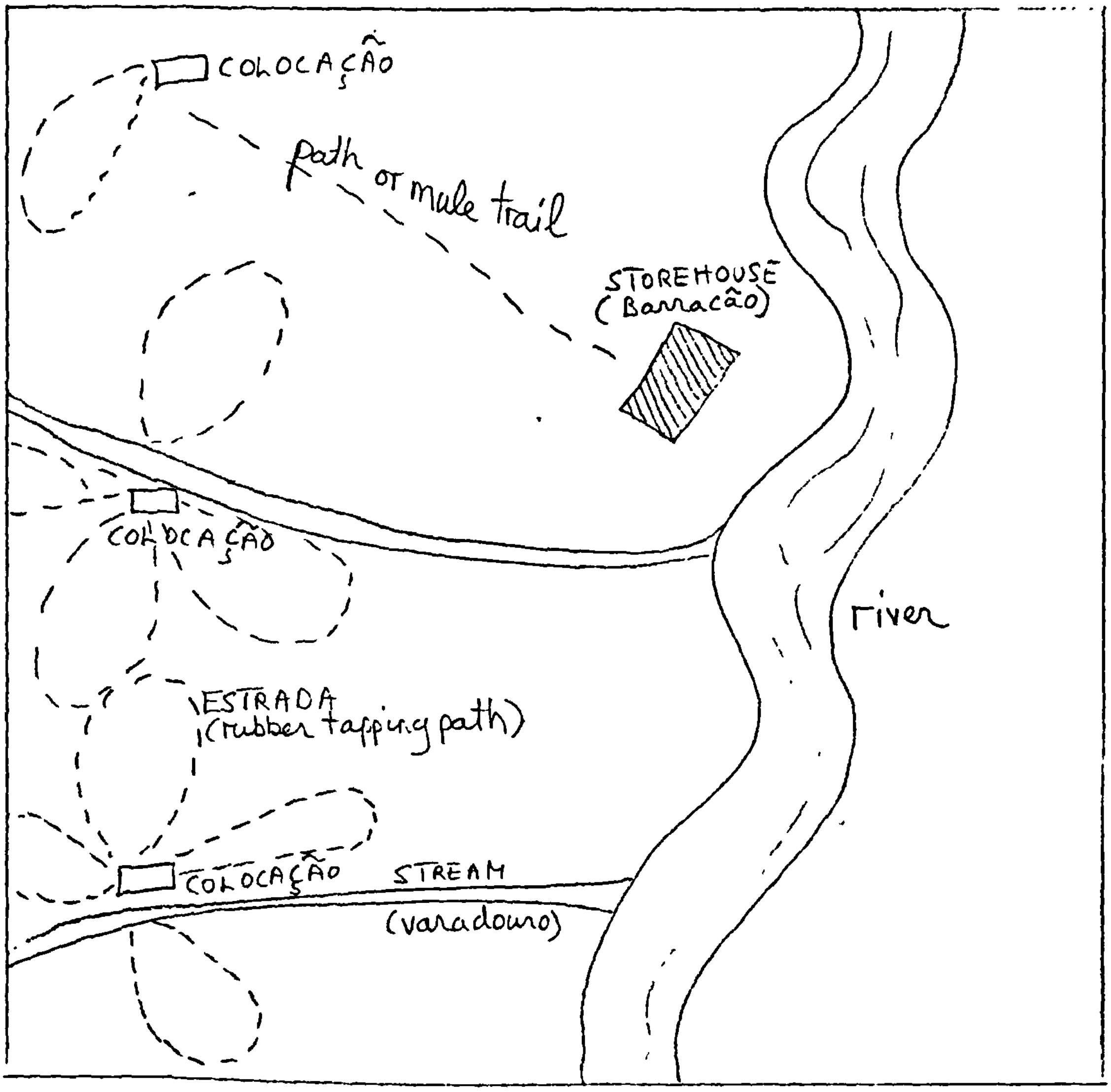

COLOCAÇÃO
path or mule trail
STOREHOUSE
(Barracão)
COLOCAÇÃO
river
ESTRADA
(rubber tapping path)
COLOCAÇÃO
STREAM
(varadouro)

FIGURE 2 : Seringal

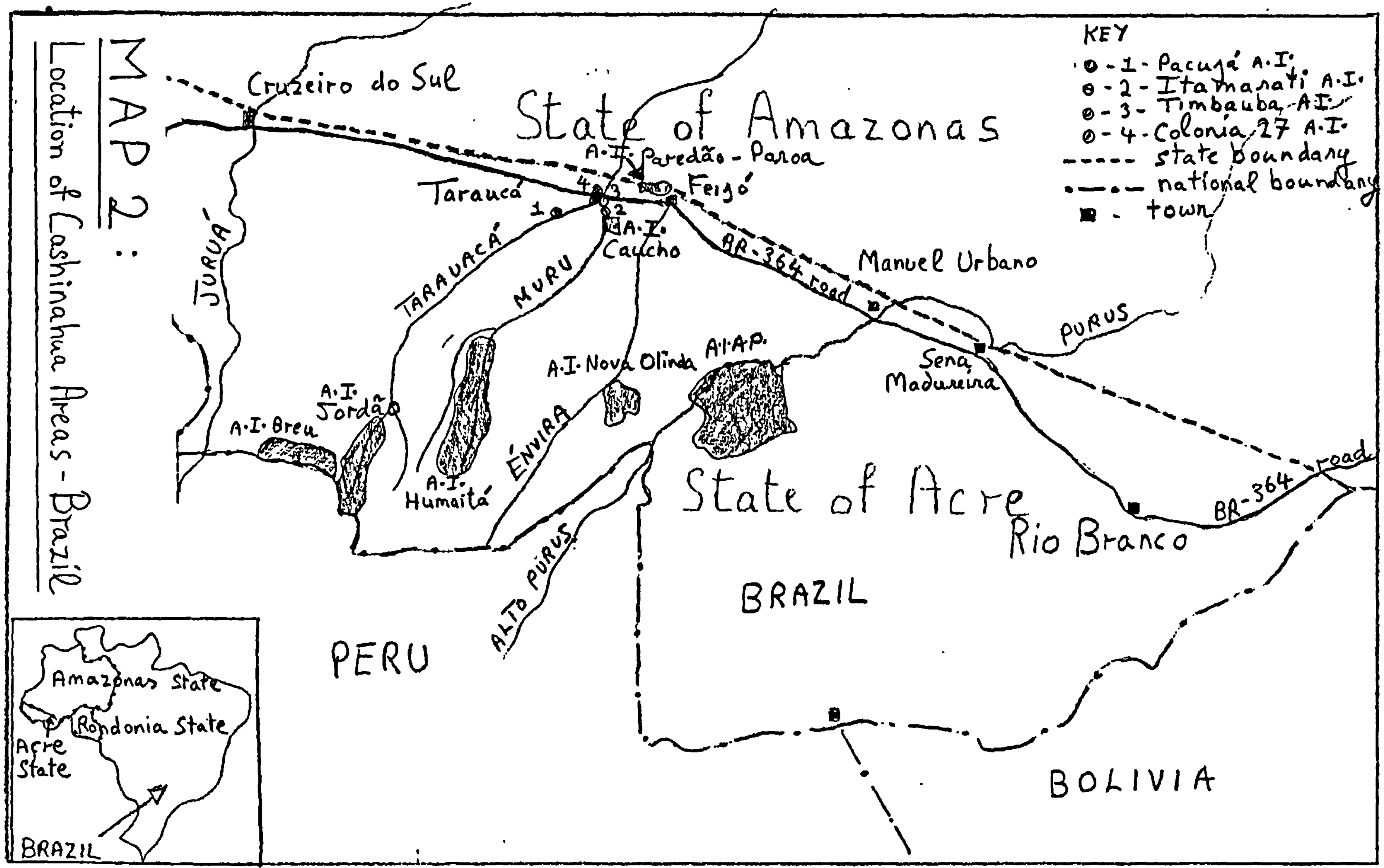
The price of rubber collapsed in 1912, and by 1920 the population began to fall [33]. After this a local economy developed, and those who did not return to the Northeast could diversify their activities into food and occasionally small-scale commodity production. The bosses fell on hard times, and their power gradually diminished, but the aviamento system remained intact. During World War Two there was a second boom, and renewed migration from the Northeast [34]. Afterwards, the bosses began to fall into debt and by the 1960s they were selling or abandoning their estates. A new force then appeared on the scene, which seemed likely to put an end to the aviamento system once and for all. This was the advent of land speculation.

(d) Land Speculation and Ranching - 1970-1987

The people of Acre witnessed a major shift in the social and economic structure of their state between 1970 and 1987. The twin pillars of the aviamento system, ownership of rights to rubber trees and control of labour through debt bondage, began to crumble under pressures originating outside of the region. In their place a new structure, based upon the ownership of land, was created. This change, which at first was taken for the advent of a ranching economy, was a façade for speculation and non-productive investment on a vast scale.

Population in Acre grew from 216,000 in 1970 to about 320,000 in 1986. This can partly be accounted for by the high birth rate, but is also a result of in-migration [35]. The rise is minor in comparison to that experienced by neighbouring Rondônia. There population grew from a mere 114,000 in 1970 to 1,300,000 in 1986, with another quarter of a million migrants expected in 1987.

This process began with the construction of a road from Southern Brazil, the BR-364 (see Map 2). The state government of Acre persuaded businessmen from Southern Brazil to invest in land in Acre, supposedly in order to create modern ranches producing beef for export. The state itself sold off the major part of its share of Acre. These ranches were officially supported by the government in the form of tax exemptions and


KEY
1 - Pacujá A.I.
2 - Itamarati A.I.
3 - Timbauba A.I.
4 - Colonia 27 A.I.
state boundary
national boundary
town
State of Amazonas
Cruzeiro do Sul
Taraucá
A.I. Paredão - Paroa
Feijó
1
2
3
4
A.I. Caucho
BR-364 road
Manuel Urbano
PURUS
Sena Madureira
JURUÁ
TARAUACÁ
MURU
A.I. Jordão
A.I. Breu
A.I. Humaitá
ÉNVIRA
A.I. Nova Olinda
A.I.A.P.
State of Acre
Rio Branco
BR-364
road
ALTO PURUS
BRAZIL
PERU
BOLIVIA
Amazonas State
Rondonia State
Acre State
BRAZIL

MAP 2:

Location of Cashinahua Areas - Brazil

subsidies, but proved not to be economically viable [36]. However, land (instead of access to rubber trees) became a commodity, and prices rose steeply. The old bosses, the seringalistas, sold out to speculators or grileiros (specialists in obtaining land titles, whether through fraud or intimidation). As far as the businessmen were concerned, land was more valuable without "squatters" - the new name for the tappers. As a consequence there was a rural exodus during the 1970s. The towns of Acre swelled, Rio Branco recieving the brunt of the exodus from the land, as Bakx has documented [37].

Some of the new owners set about making ranches, especially along the roads, and around Rio Branco. One such ranch is the Fazenda California on the Énvira, a Cashinahua area. However many other owners sent no more than a token presence, and some of the squatters returned. Tappers displaced from one area would find a colocação that seemed to have no owner, and set themselves up as independent tappers. Despite the high rate of emigration into the towns, the rural population figure in fact remained stable during this period, due to the high birth rate. Rubber production continued, and the aviamento system was not dislodged in many areas [38]. Absentee landlords felt that a minimal income could be obtained from their speculative investments whilst they bided their time, waiting for the road to be paved and land prices to rise further. At the end of the 1970s the national government decided to invest in natural rubber production, and set up an agency, SUDHEVEA to promote it. Acre again became (officially) the land of Hevea, as well as cattle country. By 1987 this state interest collapsed, and wild rubber production was no longer officially promoted.

By then the road had been paved as far as Porto Velho in Rondònia, and work to pave it as far as Rio Branco was in progress. The rural-urban exodus in Acre had already taken place; but a new unprecedented wave of out-of-state migrants was expected. Whilst during the 1970s the investors had on the whole been content to let things be until a future time when they could reap their profits, by the late 1980s the time appeared to have come. Rubber, still the main economic sector in Acre in terms of employment during the first half the decade, rapidly declined. It is in the period just before this latest collapse that I was with the Cashinahua: It is against the background of the battle for land and control of rubber production that characterized their political situation in the early 1980s that their social organization must be undertood.

(e) The Cashinahua during the Twentieth Century

By 1923 the Cashinahua of the Tarauacá area had been reduced to 264 [39]. Of these, 184 lived with the Cariú Felizardo Cequiera on the Jordão, and the rest lived in 3 separate groups downriver. Tastevin counted 100 in the Muru area [40]. These included a group of 31 at Boa Vista, on the right bank of the Humaitá; 21 dispersed families on the Muru; and another 6 on the Iboiçu. 10 Cashinahua women were living with settlers. The census made by Tastevin adds up to 374. The tiny proportion of children to adults, in comparison to the inversion of this in post 1955 censuses, is striking (see Figures 5 - 7 below). Also, an unknown number lived on the Énvira; and a small group was based on the Gregorio. In total, guessing at a hundred or so for the Énvira, no more than about 500 Cashinahua were left in Brazil. Those Cashinahua who had fled to Peru must have numbered several hundred at this time.

The groups on the Brazilian side of the border worked as tappers, or as hunters, for their bosses until the mid-1970s. They abandoned their malocas, and were "placed" in colocações by the bosses, who thus effectively broke up the residential basis of the Cashinahua political organization. Groups which had coresided as largely endogamous and economically cooperative units were divided into nuclear family units separated by considerable distances several hours or days journey apart. The men learnt Portuguese, but the majority of women did not, except in the Énvira region. In only one case did a Cashinahua obtain title to their own seringal (that of the Sueiro family in the mid-Jordão) [41].

The Brazilian Cashinahua became Catholics, in the manner of the Cariu. However, they continued to be regarded as "Indian" or caboclo, as opposed to "Civilized" . As Aquino has discussed, a number of perjorative characteristics are attributed to the caboclos, in contrast to the non-Indians or Cariú [42]. The Cariú constantly reaffirm that the Indians are lazy, dirty, thieving, savage, non-Christian, irrational and so on. At best they are like children, and at worst they are equal to animals. This philosophy was used as a justification by those who organized and participated in the correrias (massacres), and continues to appear. Aquino (1977) shows how Cariú bosses take advantage of the perjorative ethnic categorization of the Cashinahua to pay them less than the Cariu tappers. In 1984-5 many of the Cashinahua from the Énvira prefered to deny their indigenous status, refusing to speak the language in contact situations, for example. They consciously attempted to disassociate themselves from their origin as children of brabos, savages. Elsewhere, and notably on the Jordão, the Cashinahua continued to speak their mother tongue. There appears to have been a certain amount of resistance to the pressure to conform. Visiting and intermarriage with the Peruvian Cashinahua, who were living in relative isolation on the Curanja, from both the Jordão and the Énvira, ensured that all the dispersed groups retained links. The Cashinahua themselves, using local Portuguese categories, say that they are "one family" or "tribe" (só uma familia, um tribo) [43].

During the late 1970s, whilst Acre was experiencing the effects of the state and national government policies which encouraged land speculation and the forced depopulation of rural areas, its indigenous peoples began to organize themselves in a fight for land. Under Brazilian law 'Indians' were entitled at that time to 'Indigenous Areas' (Areas Indígenas or AIs), in reserves which were to include traditional hunting territories and to be under the tutelage of the federal Indian agency, FUNAI. A local branch was set up. An Acreano anthropologist named Terri Aquino organized a "Pro-Indian Commission", the CPI-AC, and was instrumental in setting in motion the fight of the Jordão Cashinahua for their own AI. Later the CPI-AC began to operate on a wider scale, with other indigenous groups, and in conjunction with the regional branch of UNI, the Indigenous Nations' Union, still very new in 1986. The CPI-AC started the indigenous cooperative movement, obtaining funds from NGOs such as

OXFAM and "Brot für der Mund", and in setting up an education programme. At the same time the Catholic Church's lay advisory body on indigenous peoples, CIMI, began to operate in Acre. They were especially active in setting up political movements aimed at securing land titles and better services in the Purus area [44].

Whilst the coop movement was not successful in economic terms, it enabled indigenous peoples to secure their political independence from the Cariú bosses for the first time since the rubber boom. Cashinahua who were dispersed down the Tarauacá moved upriver to the Jordão, whilst Cariú bosses and tappers were displaced and moved out. The process was not an easy one; ironically, the indigenous people's reputation as "savages" sometimes proved beneficial at this time, and some Cariú left out of fear for their lives, although in fact there was little violence, and no lives lost in the case of the Cashinahua.

On the Énvira the Cashinahua fight for land was relatively unsuccessful. Some people moved down to the town of Feijó where a small group was already established a few hours from the town itself, at Paredão. This was delimited a small AI. Others remained upriver at Nova Olinda, close to the big ranch on the Énvira, Fazenda California. Another group, close relations of those at Paredão, moved across to the Purus. They established themselves across the river to Fronteira, where a FUNAI post was built and an airstrip cut. In 1977 CIMI organized a joint meeting with the leaders of the Kulina, who had two major settlements in the area, at Maronaua upriver and Santo Amaro down, and the leaders decided together to fight for a joint AI on the right bank of the Purus. The Alto Purus AI (AIAP) is now the largest in Acre (see Map 2 above). The small group on the Humaitá were less successful in obtaining an AI, and in 1985 there were newspaper reports of clashes between them and the local Cariú. On the Bréu affines of the Sueiro Family of the Jordão were still fighting for delimitation at the time [45].

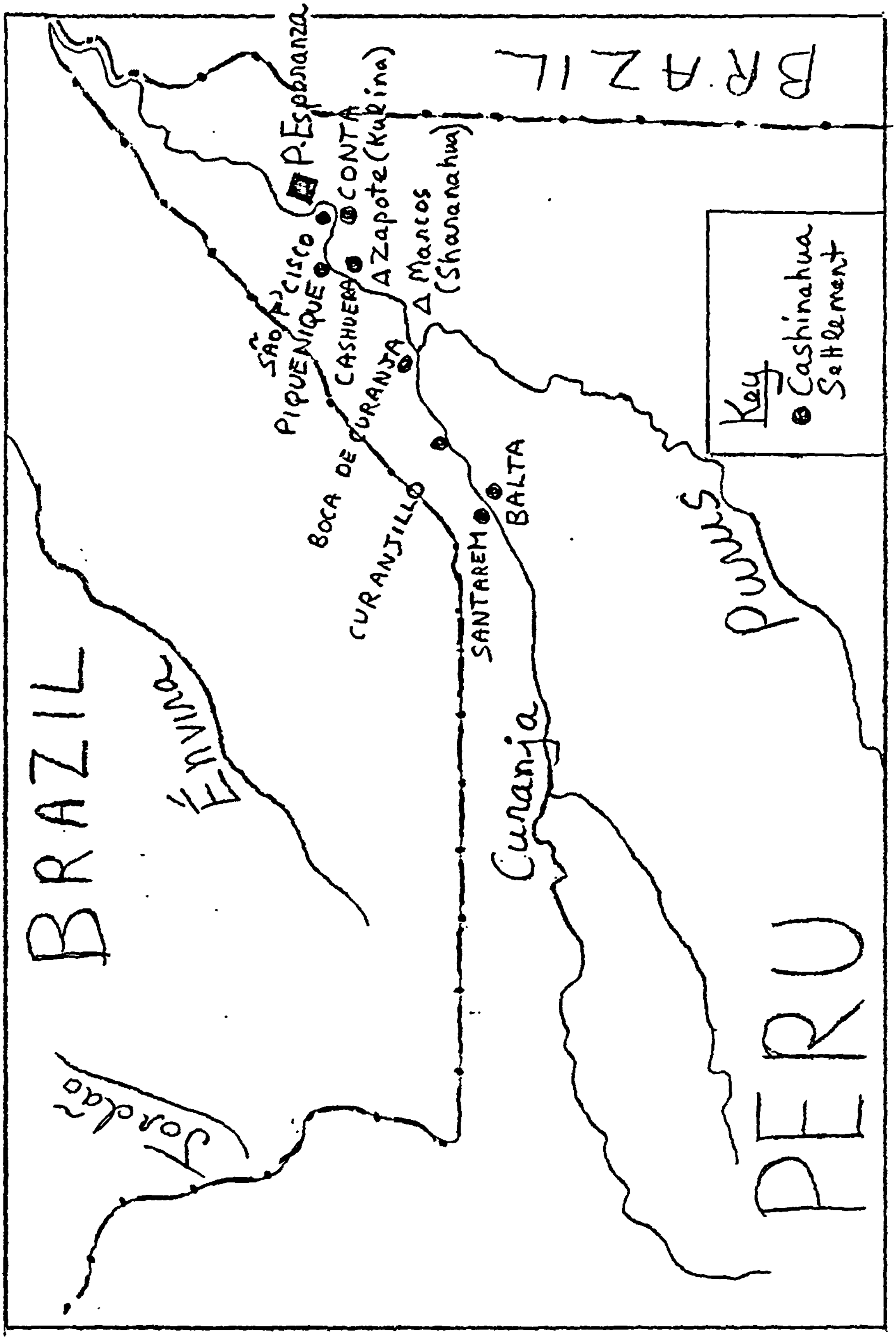
A secondary political effect of the succesful fight for land and economic independence was a resurgence of leadership amongst the

Brazilian Cashinahua. Since the dispersion to geographically distant colocações the institution had been in abeyance. By contrast, it continued in the Peruvian context. Those who fled the Énvira for Peru settled at the headwaters of the Curanja, a tributary of the upper Purus. Downriver, the Sharanahua arrived perhaps a decade later, and there were other Panoan speakers as well as Kulina in the area [46]. In the 1940s several of these groups settled on the Purus itself. They were still living there in 1984 (see Map 3).

The Peruvians who had stayed after the exhaustion of caucho had remained on the main river. After about 1930 there appears to have been an exodus of these settlers, so that the mestizo population fell to at most a hundred. Those traders that stayed travelled upriver to the indigenous villages in search of caucho, timber, and jaguar and ocelot pelts, which were most easily sold in Brazil [47]. By the 1950s an airstrip and a mission had been established, and there was a military garrison. Even by 1985, when I visited, the population was almost entirely native, and Spanish-speaking traders accounted for no more than 100 people, with about 300 soldiers, and 4 missionaries (one Swiss Mission, 3 lay Catholic volunteers). Apart from this there were a few mestizo families settled as agriculturalists. The bosses the Joyles brothers controlled the commodity economy along with the army and the small traders.

Schultz and Chiara travelled the Purus in 1951, and visited 8 Cashinahua villages with a total population of 500 on the upper Curanja [48]. They report that some of the men at that time were collecting caucho or felling timber for the traders, but mostly they obtained manufactured goods secondhand from the Sharanahua, in exchange for woven cotton cloth [49]. After Schultz and Chiara departed, a major epidemic wiped out over half of the Cashinahua. In 1956 Kensinger counted only 96 in two villages [50]. It seems likely that some left for the Jordão at this time.

Kensinger, who was to become an anthropologist, was an SIL missionary-linguist [51]. The SIL convinced the Cashinahua to travel downriver to a


BRAZIL
P. Esperanza
CONTA
Zapote (Kukina)
Mancos (Shananahua)
São Francisco
Piquenique
Cashuera
Boca de Curanja
Curanjillo
Santarem
Balta
Key
Cashinahua Settlement
Purus
BRAZIL
Envira
Curanja
PERU
Jordão

MAP 3: Location of Cashinahua Settlements - Peru site suitable for an airstrip. For the next 20 years, the people of this village enjoyed what they see as a period of abundance, in terms of the material benefits brought in by plane from Pucallpa, and by boat from Puerto Esperanza. The linguists came from time to time, there were radio links with the base at Yarinacocha, airlifts of salt, clothes, medicine, ammunition, hardware and so on. The population, free from major epidemics, grew so that by 1968 there were 400 living in 7 settlements. People flocked to the village built along the two edges of the airstrip at Balta, so that this reached 800 during the early 1970s. Part of this growth was due to the return of some of those who had gone to the Jordão. Others came from the Énvira, in search of better conditions than were available in Brazil under the Cariú bosses. In 1968 6 large households left the Énvira, and settled on the Purus itself at Conta, which is located one hour upriver from Puerto Esperanza. They provided the nucleus for what was to become, by 1985 , the largest Cashinahua settlement on the Purus.

The Cashinahua welcomed the missionaries, whose presence improved the behaviour of the Peruvian bosses, as one man told Kensinger [52]. Some but not all converted to Baptism. Although the linguists were not supposed to proselytize, they were in fact quite efficient in making conversions, partly because of the bilingual education programme which they ran on behalf of the Peruvian State. Several teachers began their training at this time, spending up to a year at the SIL base near Pucallpa. Several of these teachers now call themselves "missionaries" or "pastors".

The missionaries held meetings during which they attacked a number of beliefs and practices that they saw as Satanic. They labelled the boa, an important figure in Cashinahua cosmology, as Satan himself. They tried to teach people to attend prayer meetings, cultos, 4 or 5 times a week; to refuse alcohol and the hallucinogen ayahuasca; not to dance in the mestizo style (although rituals were approved of as "festivals"). They attacked couvade and dietary practices associated with hunting, illness, and shamanic initiation. They taught the Cashinahua to buy and sell meat and fruit from each other; to build privies and boil water; and, finally, to give up the custom of taking lovers. After 20 years they succeeded in translating the New Testament into Cashinahua, publishing a dictionary and several bilingual schoolbooks, and, as they must have seen it, ridding the Cashinahua of the evil of shamanism [53]. Their success was by no means total, and if some accepted their creed others rejected it. Nevertheless, during my brief visit to the area Baptist activity without the presence of any missionary was intense.

When the linguists left, the people of Balta and Santarem experienced a decline in their standard of living. Although each major settlement was now equipped with a school, and a clinic building, and Balta boasted among other things a generator, the SIL had not attempted to make the Cashinahua economically self-sufficient. They had to fall back on trading with the mestizos, the Joyles brothers, and the military. None of the options open to producers provided more than minimal profit, for the trade in jaguar and ocelot pelts had been banned. Only those with salaries and access to cheap goods in Pucallpa could afford to buy major items such as shotguns and large cooking pots. The Cashinahua of Balta feel that the departure of the SIL was the beginning of hard times. As a result, the settlement (which reached 1,000 at its height) began to disperse.

Many moved downriver to Conta, which is close to the military garrison, and offers opportunities of sale of vegetable produce and game or fish on a weekly basis. The village of Balta was the creation of the SIL. Neither before nor since have the Cashinahua lived in such large groups. When, in 1983 or 1984 the Curanja flooded the airstrip, the final incentive was provided for a breaking up of the village. When I visited Balta in 1985, small clusters of two to five houses were widespread over an area surrounding the airstrip, each built on the small hills that abound there. A few families lived beside the abandoned airstrip and the schoolhouse cum church.

Another group of people from Balta moved downriver to the border with Brazil. They later moved further, living for a year with the group who had left the Énvira and settled at Fronteira, before forming the village of Recreio. It was there that I spent most time. In the next section I will describe the origins of both Recreio and Fronteira in more detail.

The total number of Cashinahua in Brazil in 1985 was roughly 2,000. It is impossible to be exact given that migration from Peru into Brazil continued during the year, with a smaller flow in the opposite direction. The Cashinahua were the largest single group of indigenous people in Acre. The Cashinahua were distributed as shown in Tables 1 and 2 (and see maps 2 and 3 above).

In Brazil, the Cashinahua became involved in debt relations under the aviamento system. They were dispersed in small groups because of the structure of production. Their political organization was severely disrupted as a result; and the holding of major rituals became difficult. On the Énvira a number attempted to assimilate into the Cariú population, and to abandon customs and language which marked them out as caboclo. Elsewhere this did not occur, although the Cashinahua learnt much about Cariú culture and language. Only the Sueiro family, who lived at the centre of the Cashinahua stronghold on the Jordâo river, maintained their own economic independence. The political movement and NGO-financed economic projects of the late 1970s began to change this trend, as dispersed families regrouped and Cariú people moved off Indian land.

In contrast, the Peruvian Cashinahua had little contact with colonists until the 1950s, and the most important influence they experienced was that of the North American Baptist missionary-linguists, the SIL. They continued to practice their ceremonies, were monolingual even after the introduction of bilingual Spanish/Cashinahua education, and were encouraged by the SIL to be proud of their indigenous identity. Some converted to Baptism, and others remained Catholic, as they had been when they arrived from Brazil, or declared themselves "pagan". Since they

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTON OF CASHINAHUA COMMUNITIES AND POPULATION IN BRAZIL - 1982 and 1985

	1982	1985
Alto Purus Reserve (AIAP)	250	400 *
Paredão/Paroá (Énvira)	120	130 (estimate)
Nova Olinda (")	210	250
Humaitá	220	250
Tarauacá Town (Colônia 27)	44	60
Caucho (Tarauacá)	92	100
Itamarati (")	24	?
Pacujá (")	15	?
Timbaubá (")	55	?
Jordão Reserve	720	800
Breu	90	100 (estimate)
TOTAL:	1,840	2,090 (estimate)

Sources: *Aconteceu* 1983 Especial 14: Povos Indígenas no Brasil (CEDI) São Paulo; *Plano para o Levantamento das Necessidades dos Grupos Indígenas do PMACI - II* (IPEA - Instituto de planejamento económico e social - Brazil)

NOTE: * = My own census.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTON OF CASHINAHUA COMMUNITIES AND POPULATION IN PERU (1984)

Conta	242
Balta	283
San Francisco	29
Piquenique	31
Bufeo	31
Cashuera	34
Maritoba	17
Curanjillo	62
Santarem	105
TOTAL:	834

Sources: Alto Purus Mission

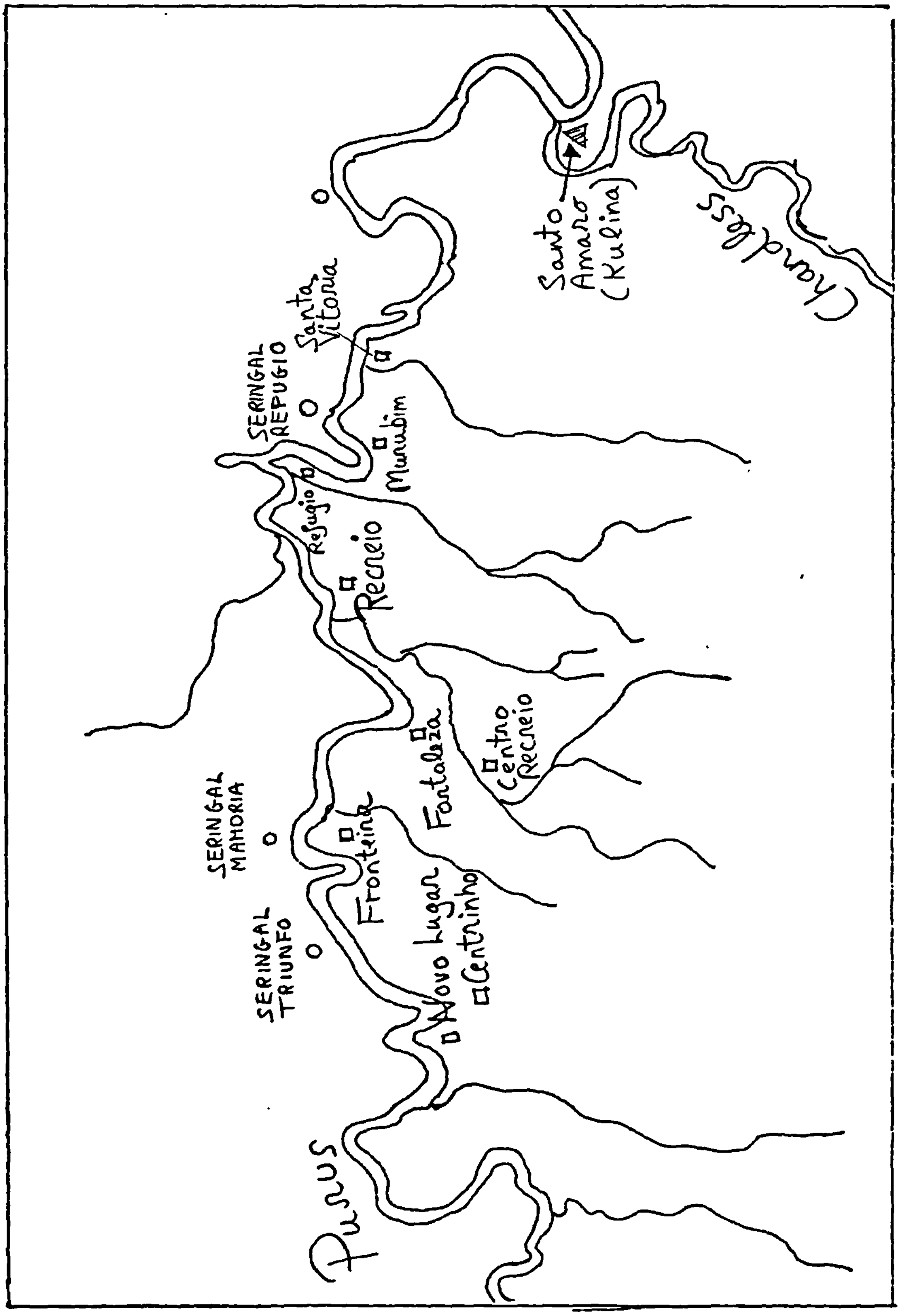
were grouped together in one large village, they were able to continue holding important rites Their political organization was not disrupted, although the leaders were obliged at times to comply with missionary demands. After the departure of the missionaries Balta began to split up. Some people migrated downriver, in search of better access to industrial commodities and medicine.

Whilst the Peruvian Cashinahua were experiencing the difficulties of life without North American missionaries, the Brazilian Cashinahua were fighting for land titles in alliance with other indigenous groups in Acre. In the Jordão relations scattered down the Tarauacá began to move back again. On the Purus the Peruvian Cashinahua at the frontier were invited to move to the newly planned AIAP, the Area Indígena Alto Purus. In the next section I describe the history of its formation, discuss demographic processes and comment on residence.

Section 3: The Cashinahua of the AIAP - an Introduction

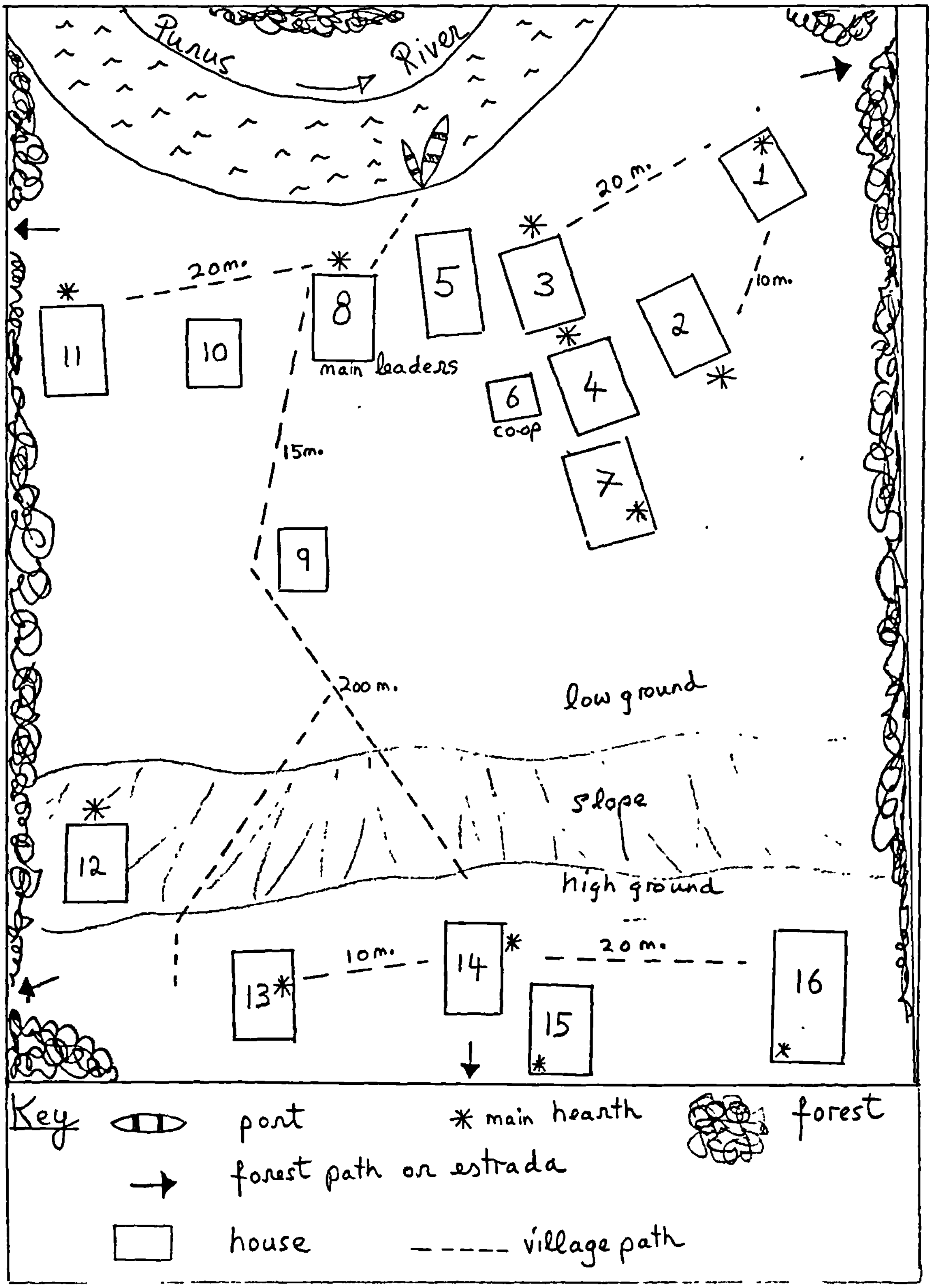
The AIAP is located on the Southern bank of the Purus. On the opposite side Cariú tappers work rubber on a number of seringais. The Cashinahua area is in the centre of the AI, with Kulina settlements located both upriver and down. The principle Cashinahua settlements are the villages of Fronteira and Recreio (see Map 4).

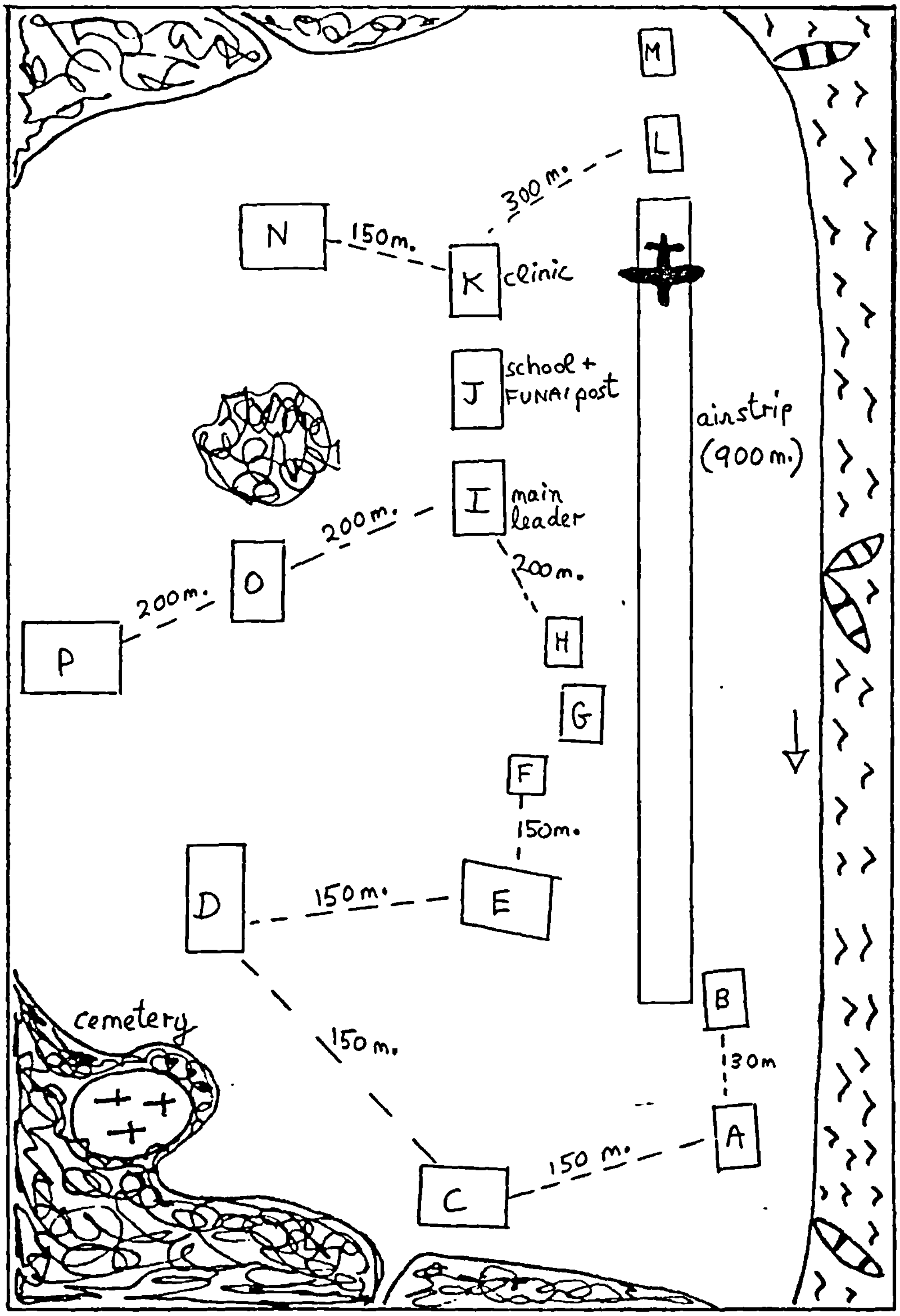
The journey from Recreio upriver to Fronteira takes three hours without an outboard, and the return little more than an hour. The two villages are very different in appearance (see Maps 5 and 6). Fronteira straggles over an extensive area of scrubby pasture. The houses surrounding the airstrip (which runs parallel to the river) are built at a hundred or more metres distance from each other. The pasture is pockmarked with the comings and goings of cattle and pigs, whilst the patios of their owners houses are churned into mire during the rainy season. Low scrub surrounds the pasture and the forest is distant from the river except at each end of the runway. The seat of the seringal of Mamoria, employer of over 50 Cariú tappers, is located some fifteen minutes away on the opposite bank.


Purus
Chandless
Santo Amaro (Kulina)
Santa Vitoria
SERINGAL REFUGIO
Murubim
Refugio
Recreio
Centro Recreio
Fortaleza
SERINGAL MAMORIA
Fronteira
SERINGAL TRIUNFO
Novo Lugar
Centrinho

MAP 4: The A.I.A.P. (Area Indigena do Alto Purus)

MAP 5: Recreio


Purus River
20 m.
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
10m.
20m.
main leaders
co-op
15m.
200 m.
low ground
slope
high ground
10m.
20m.
Key
port
main hearth
forest
forest path or estrada
house
village path


M
L
300 m.
N
150m.
K
clinic
J
school + FUNAI post
airstrip (900 m.)
I
main leader
200 m.
O
200 m.
P
200m.
H
G
F
150m.
D
150 m.
E
cemetery
150 m.
B
130m
A
150 m.
C

MAP 6: Fronteira

(for Key see Map 5)

Recreio is built inside the curve of a beach, on a patch of sandy land, and on the crown of the steep slope above. The forest circles the village. Most of the houses were on the lower ground in 1985, although a move up above was planned. They are built close together, in contrast to the dispersion of Fronteira. The cleared low land serves as a pasture for two or three cattle and some sheep. Cotton, pineapple, fish poison bushes, and a few banana edge the patios. A few fruit trees and some coconut testify to the low numbers of livestock. Recreio had only been settled some four years when I arrived in 1984, so the gardens were close, the forest still standing on the village edge, and the herd of cattle yet to be developed. The nearest Cariu are a small family who live half an hour upriver. The seringal Refugio's headquarters are about one hour's paddling downstream.

There are affinal and kin ties between the two villages, but these are few compared to the internal links (see Figures 3 and 4 and Appendix 3). Each village together with its satellites constitutes an autonomous unit for most daily social, economic, and political purposes. During the summer, inter-village visiting becomes more intense, but does not equal the movement within each domain. Fronteira, once a Cariu seringal, has several colocações attached (see Map 4). Recreio has links with one small village downstream at Santa Vitoria [54]. I have counted these two together for the purposes of demographic analysis below, since for most of my stay the future inhabitants of Santa Vitoria were still in Recreio. Refugio and Murubim are mainly indepependent, with only a few links to Recreio and Novo Lugar. Individuals sometimes arrange for ties of 'compadrazgo' with Cariú from across the river, but even so relations remain on the whole semi-hostile [55].

Fronteira is the site of a FUNAI post, and boasts a school building, a clinic, and a third FUNAI built house now occupied by the leader. Occasionally there is a nurse or some other personnel in residence. Recreio has built its own school, coop building, and clinic [56]. The village schools and coops are separate, and financed by different organizations. The principal leaders of the two villages are frequently

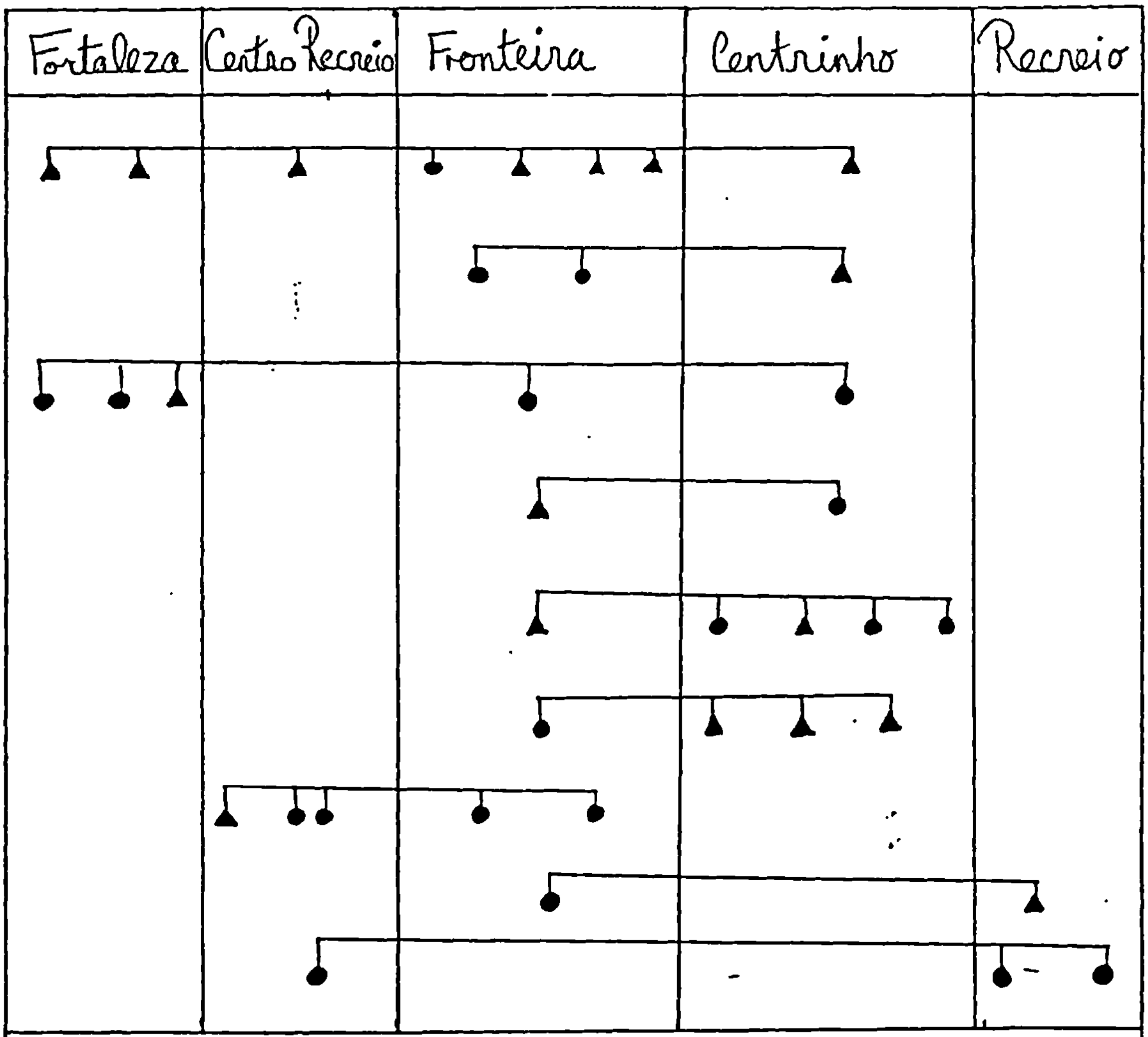

Fortaleza
Centro Recreio
Fronteira
Centrinho
Recreio

FIGURE 3 : Sibling Links between Settlements

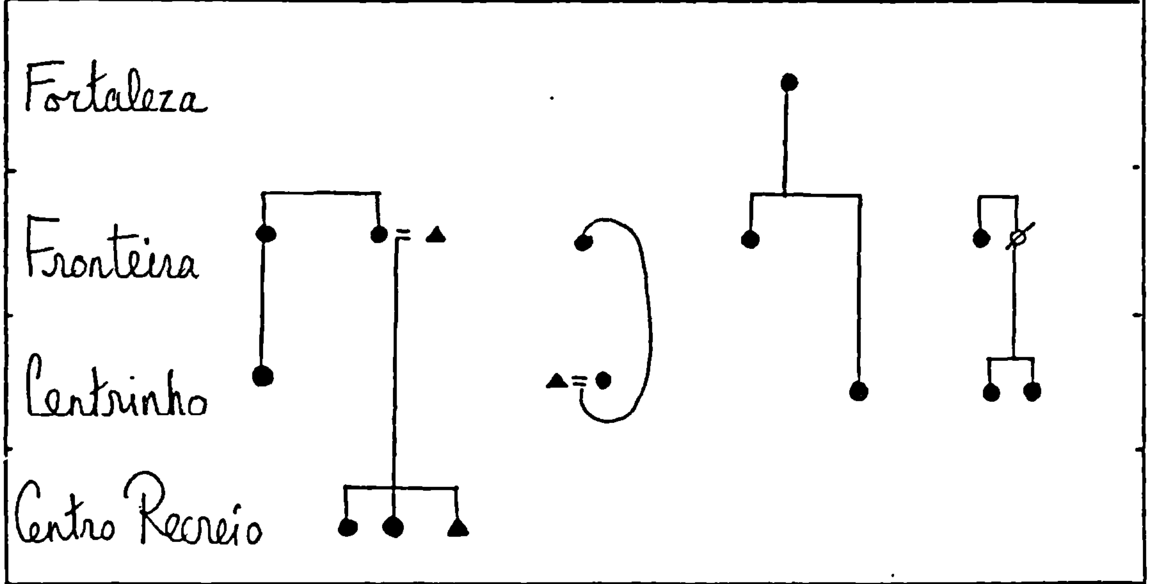

Fortaleza
Fronteira
Centrinho
Centro Recreio

FIGURE 4 : Parent-Child Links between Settlements

at loggerheads, except with regard to wider issues such as the demarcation of the IA land.

Demographic Analysis

The total Cashinahua population of the AIAP in June 1985 was 400, (plus a few uncounted newborn babies). Of these 165 lived in Recreio/Santa Vitoria; 29 in Murubim and Refugio; and 206 in Fronteira and the 4 hamlets. Each of the villages had 200 people in its sphere of influence in 1985. The demographic structure of Fronteira was relatively more stable than that of Recreio since the main influx of migrants from the Énvira and to a lesser extent Peru, had ended by 1980; Recreio on the other hand was in the process of receiving many newcomers from upriver in Peru at the time of research. Between February 1984 and July 1985 the population of Recreio rose from 101 to 165, of which only 7 were births. At the same time 4 people died and 9 people returned to Peru. During the same period the population of the Fronteira grouping increased from 188 to 206. Of this increase 11 were births and 10 migrants, 3 from the Énvira and 7 from Peru. During this period 3 people died.

TABLE 3: AIAP Cashinahua Population by Settlement and House-June 1985

Settlement	Population	No. of Houses	Persons/per/House/Average
Santa Vitoria	28	2	14
Murubim	23	3	8
Refugio	6	1	6
Recreio	137	16	8.5
Fortaleza	21	3	7
Centro Recreio	12	2	6
Fronteira	109	15	7.3
Centrinho	34	4	8.5
Novo Lugar	30	2	14.5
TOTAL	400	48	AVERAGE = 8.3

Figures 5, 6 and 7 show the age/sex composition of the Cashinahua population of the AIAP in 1985, and of each major village and its satellites [57]. In the next subsections I describe the foundation of each in more detail.

The Foundation of Recreio

In 1977 the family of Francisco Lopes (Pancho) arrived at the border between Peru and Brazil, on the Alto Purus. Pancho, the present male leader of Recreio, says he was born in 1938, on the Seringal Simpatia on the Énvira. His parents moved to Balta soon after. As a child, Pancho was sent to live with a Peruvian/Brazilian family at Santa Rosa, on the alto Purus. He stayed with them until he was 18. His mother and father(s) were living in the upper Curanja at the time. After this he travelled widely in the region, including Brazil. His mother moved between Balta and Conta during these years. He did not marry until he was 28, in 1966. His wife, Luisa, was the fourteen year old daughter of a Cashinahua called Zé Augusto who had arrived from the Jordão a few years before (see Figure 8). She was living in Balta, with her father and his second wife, Alcina, Luisa's mother's sister. Her mother Maria was married to another man, Sampaio, and remained with him on the Jordão for another 7 years until about 1972. Pancho went then to fetch his mother-in-law and her husband, her brother, and various other relations, and brought them back to Balta.

Pancho's father-in-law, Zé Augusto, was born about 1920 on the upper Curanja, the son of an ex-tapper born on the Humaitá. He lived in various settlements at the headwaters of the Curanja, where he married Maria, the mother of Luisa, Pancho's wife. During this time he became a chantleader and herbalist. Zé Augusto's family moved around 1940 to *Chanaxubu* on the *Xapuya* stream, where he took a second wife, Maria's sister Alcina. It was at this place that his father and his wives' mother died. Later, his eldest son was born there, in about 1946. He too was named José Augusto; he was to become a leader in Recreio himself. Briefly, in 1985-7 he was main leader of Santa Vitoria.

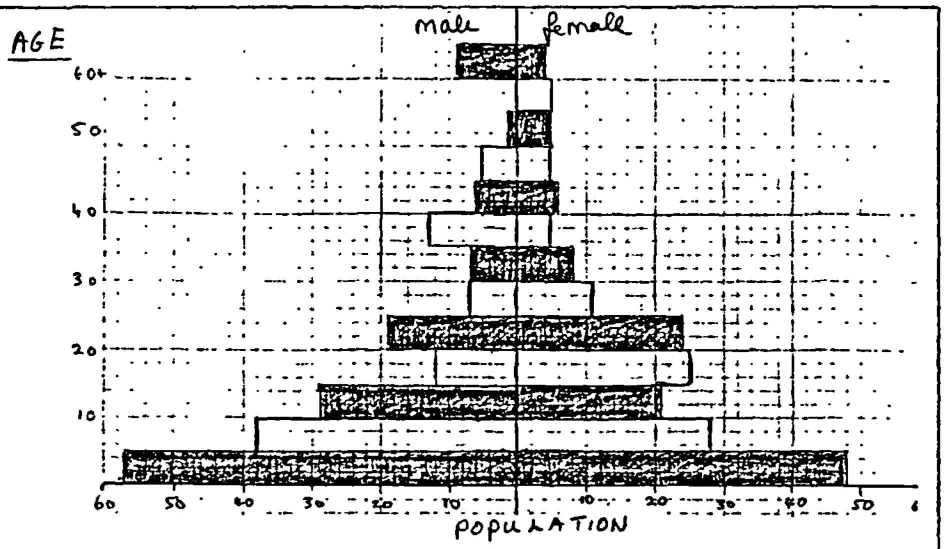


FIGURE 5 : Age-Sex Pyramid - AIAP

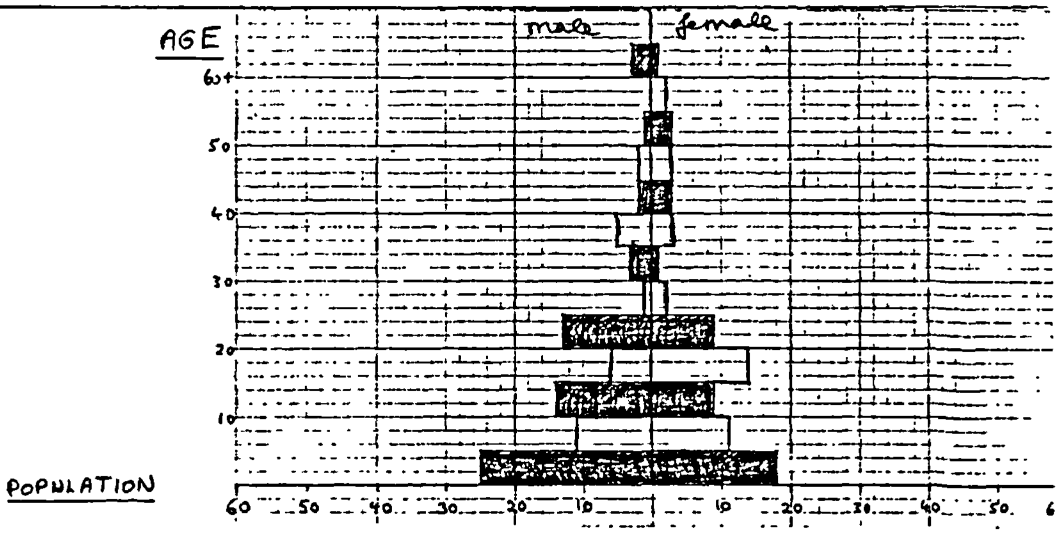


FIGURE 6 : Age-Sex Pyramid - Recreio (and Santa Vitoria)

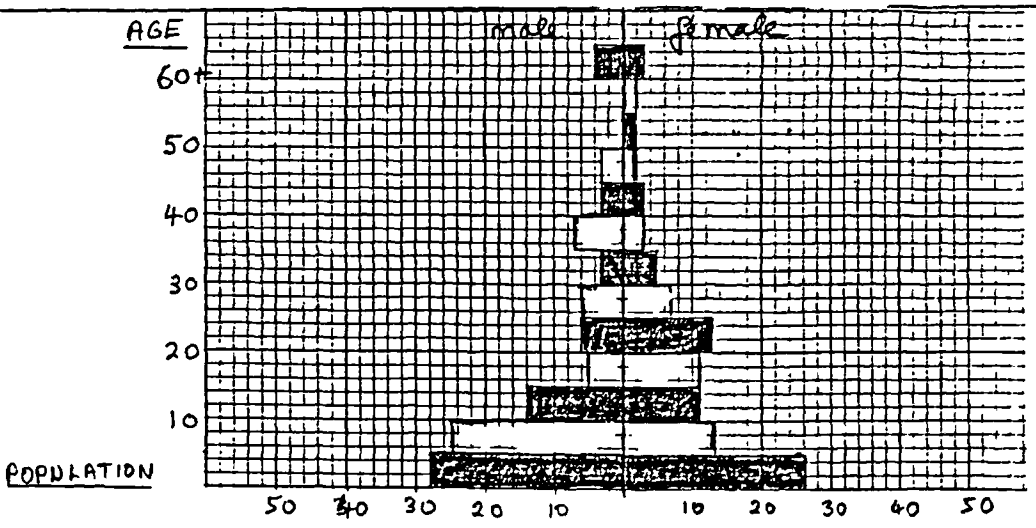


FIGURE 7 : Age-Sex Pyramid - Fronteira (and the 4 Hamlets)

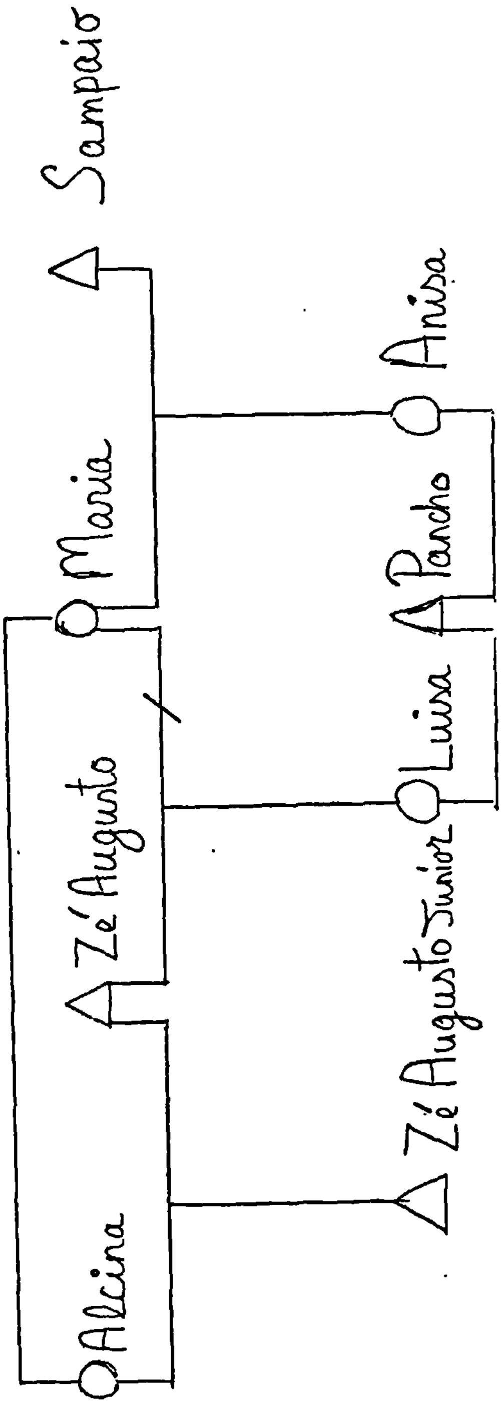

Sampaio
Maria
Anisa
Pancho
Zé Augusto
Luisa
Zé Augusto Junior
Alcina

FIGURE 8 : Links between the Major Families of Recreio/Santa Vitoria

In the mid 50s the entire family moved to the Jordão, where Old Zé Augusto went to work as a tapper in Porto Alice. His first wife Maria left him at this time, and married a local Cashinahua tapper called Sampaio in about 1959. Sampaio was born at Seringal Redempção on the Tarauacá, and had worked all his life for the Cariú. However, he was also a chantleader, and an experienced herbalist. This couple moved to Seringal Teresa where their son Marciano was born in 1960. Later they moved out of the Jordão to Rio Douro, a tributary of the Tarauaca.

In about 1963 Zé Augusto, Alcina and their family returned from the Jordâo to Balta. Their eldest daughter was born there 10 days after they arrived. In 1966 Luisa married Pancho. In about 1973 Pancho went to the Jordão to bring back her mother and other relatives, as I mentioned above.

3 years later, in 1976, he was taken by the SIL to Yarinacocha, where he spent a year. He was already a recognized leader at this time. Although he was trained as a teacher, he never took to the role, but he came back an ardent convert, numerate, and semi-literate. He left Balta soon after his return from the SIL, he says, to escape from a sorcerer there, and took his family down to Conta and then Santa Rosa, where he made contact with the Cariú/Peruvian family that had brought him up. A year later, in 1978, the whole group was persuaded by CIMI volunteers to move to the FUNAI post at Fronteira. There were already several Cashinahua families settled here, and for over a year the two groups lived together (see Maps above)).

These families, then, were to become the nucleus of Recreio. In 1980 they were all living in Fronteira. Pancho had just married his second wife Anisa, daughter of Maria and Sampaio, but spent the winter of 1979-80 with her in Rio Branco, capital of Acre, where she was hospitalized after a severe pneumonia brought on by measles. The epidemic had killed several of her full sisters and their children.On his return to Fronteira from Rio Branco with Anisa, Pancho decided to move away, to a colocação one hour downriver. He bought an old house from the Cariu tapper, who was moving out because the area was to become indigenous territory. The entire group went with him. This site was named Recreio, after the stream which flanked it.

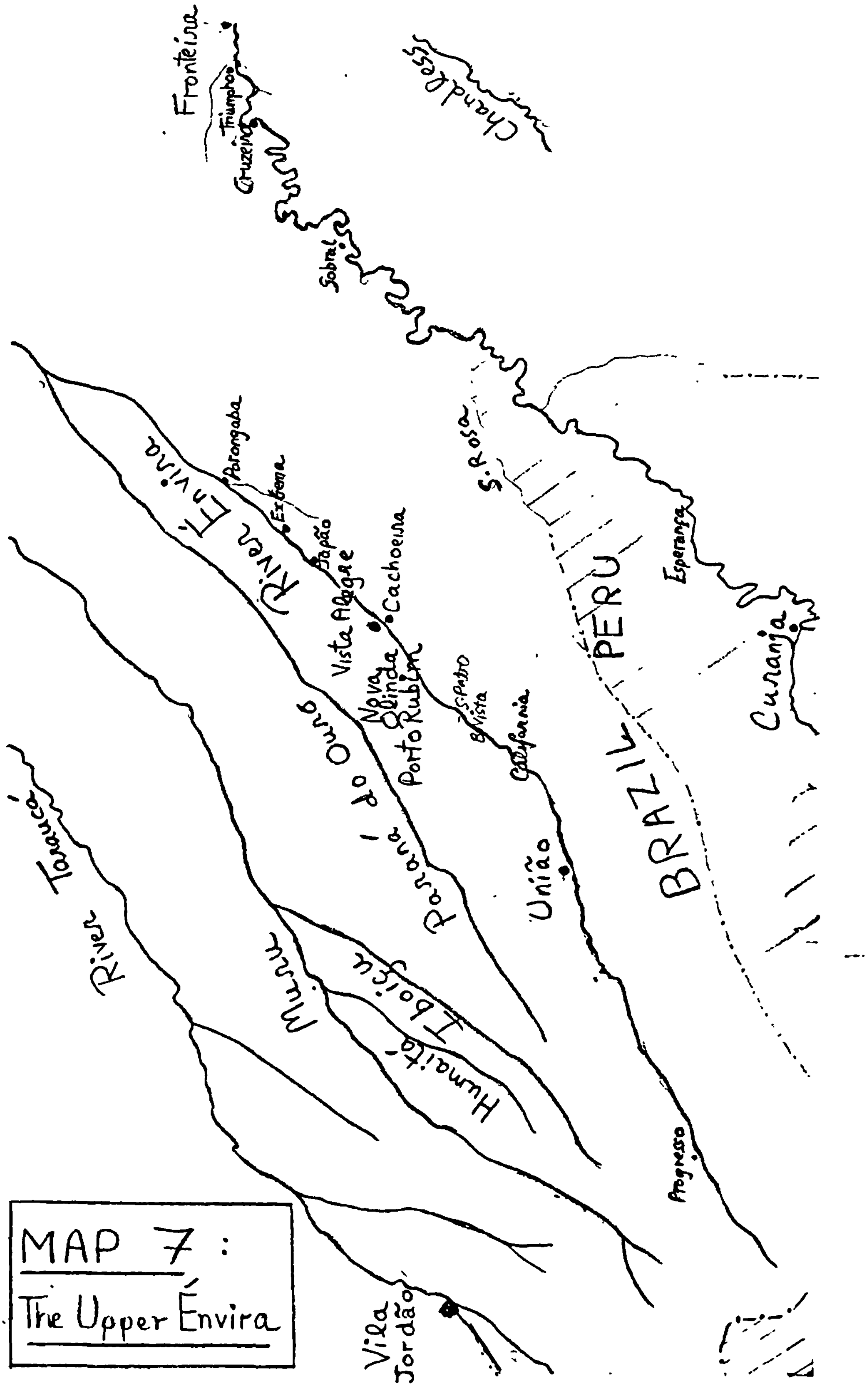
There are two small settlement downstream from Recreio, Murubim and Refugio. The two families settled there are originally from the Énvira, and are unrelated to Pancho's family, except through a few recent marriages.

In 1985 Recreio recieved many new immigrants, and at the same time split. Luisa, Pancho's first wife, had died the year before. Her father, Ze Augusto Senior, and brother, Zé Augusto, decided to move downriver to an abandoned colocação which they named Santa Vitoria. Two houses were built in that year, and many more were planned. But by 1987 the two communities had joined together in Recreio again.

The Foundation of Fronteira

Pancho was born on the Énvira, the birthplace of nearly all the Cashinahua of Fronteira. In the early 1970's a Cariú boss called Chico Raulino invited several Cashinahua brothers living at Seringal Vista Alegre on that river to come and work for him on Seringal Triunfo on the Purus. They accepted his invitation and were followed by other brothers. By 1976 the 7 Domingo brothers and their families (about 30 people) were living in Triunfo, in Fronteira (which is on the opposite bank of the river no more than half an hour away), and in the centro of the latter seringal. The leader of this group is Mouro Domingo. This family was born and brought up in Seringal Porto Rubim, on the Envira, nowadays located a day's journey downriver from Fazenda California. Porto Rubim has been known by this name since the rubber boom. Not far upriver is Seringal União, where the famous massacre took place at that time (see above and Map 7 below).

The 7 brothers' father's MBs also lived at Porto Rubim, in a maloca. One of them, Manuel Perreira, was the leader (see Appendix 3). When he died their family dispersed all over the Énvira. His brothers, the last of


Fronteira
Triumpho
Cruzeiro
Chandless
Sobral
Parongaba
Extrema
River Envira
Japão
Cachoeira
Vista Alegre
Nova Olinda
Porto Rubim
S.Patro
B. Vista
California
S. Rosa
Esperança
PERU
BRAZIL
Curanja
União
Paraná do Ouro
Taraucá River
Muru
Iboiçu
Humaitá
Progresso
Vila Jordão

MAP 7:
The Upper Envira

whom died in about 1955, had known the fugitives from Seringal União well, although they were a different family. They told stories of those times, and many myths as well, to their grandchildren, two of whom became Mouro's wives, Deulza and Isabel.

Most of those who have moved to Fronteira and the 4 hamlets attached to it originally came from Porto Rubim. Others came from nearby at Nova Olinda, or from Novo Japão. When Porto Rubim was bought by a Paulista, the Cashinahua there were ordered out. Some went to the other Cashinahua areas on the Énvira, and others went to the Purus. FUNAI subsequently set up a post at Fronteira on the Purus, and within a year there were demands for the creation of an AI. The Cariú began to move out of the area on the right bank of the river and were nearly all gone from that side by 1985.

Fronteira is the economic and social hub for 3 of the 4 hamlets linked to it - Fortaleza, Centro Recreio, and Centrinho. Two of the Domingo brothers live in Fortaleza, one in Centrinho, and another in Centro Recreio. The fourth of the attached colocações or hamlets, Novo Lugar, remains semi-autonomous. The leader, Severino, spent some time on the Énvira, from 1955 to the 1970s, and is married to two women from there. He was himself born on the Curanja. His brother is the leader of Conta, in Peru.

Residence

Cashinahua residence is similar to that of other endogamous Lowland groups such as the Piaroa as described by Overing Kaplan (1975). Marriage is preferably restricted within an endogamous kindred whose members seek to remain coresident. Adults attempt to replicate their own marriages when arranging their children's first marriages. As Overing Kaplan puts it, this is the 'most atomistic societal integration possible' (1975:2) since 'marriage exchange' is restricted, theoretically, within the 'group' as defined in terms of kinship. This is explicable in terms of the relation terminology, which is integrated into the moiety system. In-marrying affines are 'reclassified' where necessary after marriage as kin. Whilst Trio and Piaroa relation terminologies are Dravidian in form, the Cashinahua terminology is Kariera-like (see below chapter 2, section 3). However, the distinction between cross and parallel relatives works in a similar fashion in both systems and a person's bilateral kindred can be described in similar terms. At a formal level, it conforms to Lévi-Strauss's 'restricted exchange' system or Needham's 'prescriptive symmetrical alliance' model. At a statistical level, as Figures 9-12 show, the formal model has resonance with actual residence of the period the diagram represents. (As can be seen by comparing the structure of Recreio in 1984 and 1985, household composition changes rapidly). Recreio would correspond, statistically speaking, to one endogamous unit composed of overlapping kindreds; and Fronteira to another such unit. Affinal and kin links between the two units, while existing, are minimal compared to the replication of affinal and kin links within each one (and see Figures 3 and 4 above).

Figures 9-12 show the composition of Recreio and the other AIAP settlements and households in terms of kinship and marriage. How far do these data conform to Kensinger's 'ideal or proper village structures'? (see Section 1). They do conform in some ways but not in others. Kensinger says that each 'proper' village has two focal males who have exchanged sisters in marriage as its base. Both Recreio and Fronteira are somewhat larger than a 'proper' village might be, so that it is hard to see who the second 'focal male' might be. In the case of Recreio there is no doubt that Pancho, a 'Dua' and the official male leader of the village, is one (House 8). His brother-in-law, Zé Augusto Junior (an 'Inu') might be another (resident in House 16 during 1984 and House 1 during 1985). Although the diagram does not show it, Pancho married Zé's sister Luisa (she died at the end of 1984) (see Appendix 3 and Figure 8). Zé had once been married to Pancho's half-sister Rosa (resident in House 10 in 1984, House 15 in 1985) and indeed the offspring of that union lived with Pancho as his daughter-in-law, a union in other words between double cross-cousins. If Zé Augusto were indeed a 'primary political leader', then he would qualify as a second focal male. However, several points count against this. Firstly, Zé, like his sisters, belongs

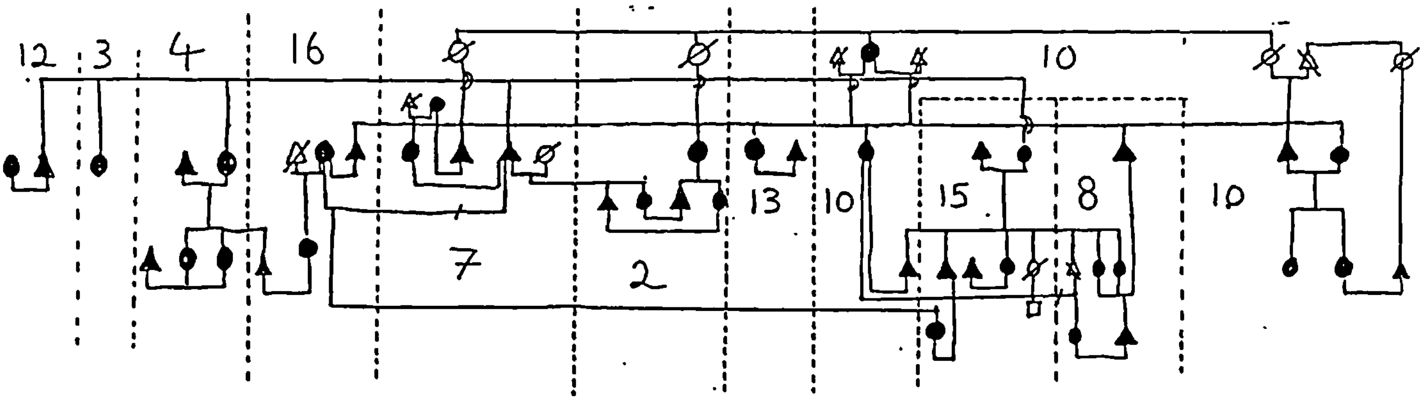

12
3
4
16
10
7
2
13
10
15
8
10

FIGURE 9 : Settlement and Household Composition - Recreio 1984

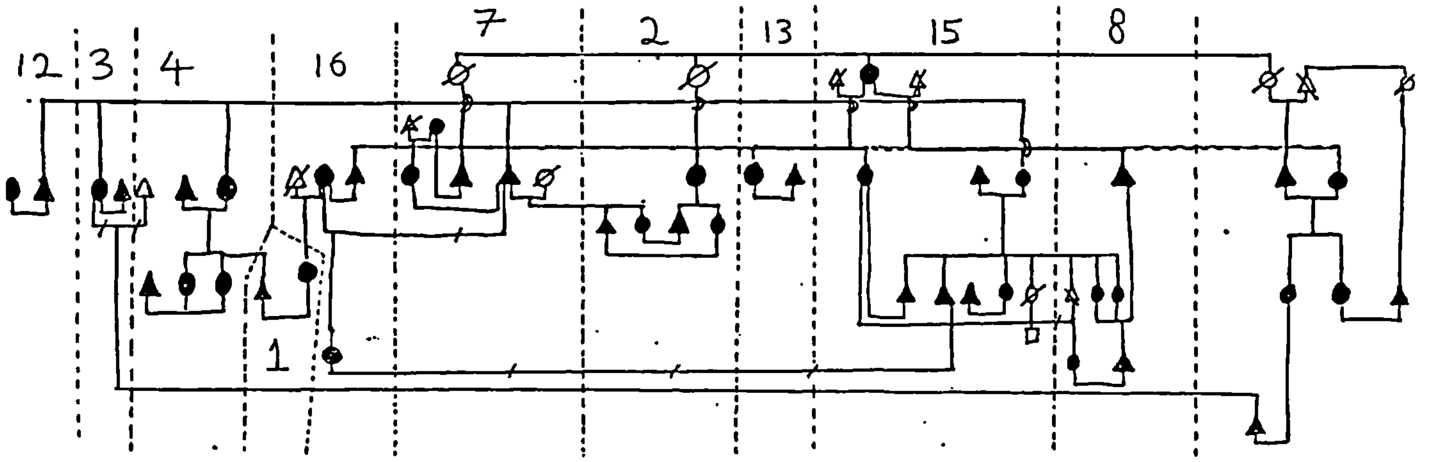
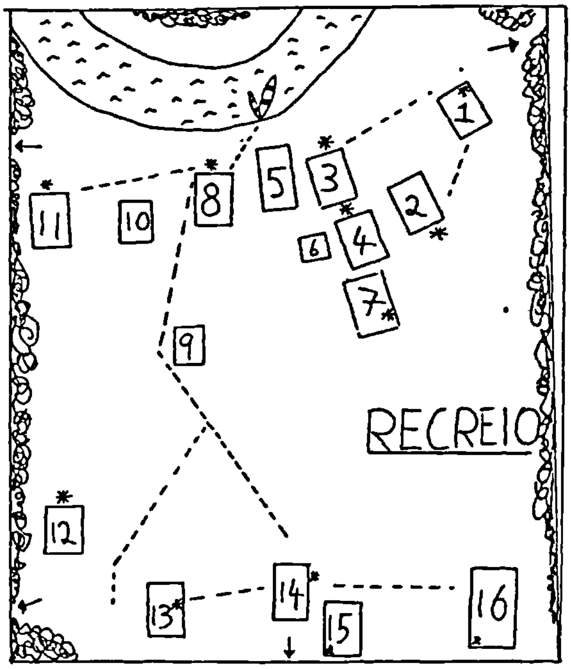

12
3
4
16
7
2
13
15
8
1

FIGURE 10 : Settlement and Household Composition - Recreio 1985

NOTE: The numbers or letters in Figures 9-12 correspond to the houses in the accompanying maps. The dotted lines in the figures mark the households. Unmarried children have been omitted from the figures.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
RECREIO

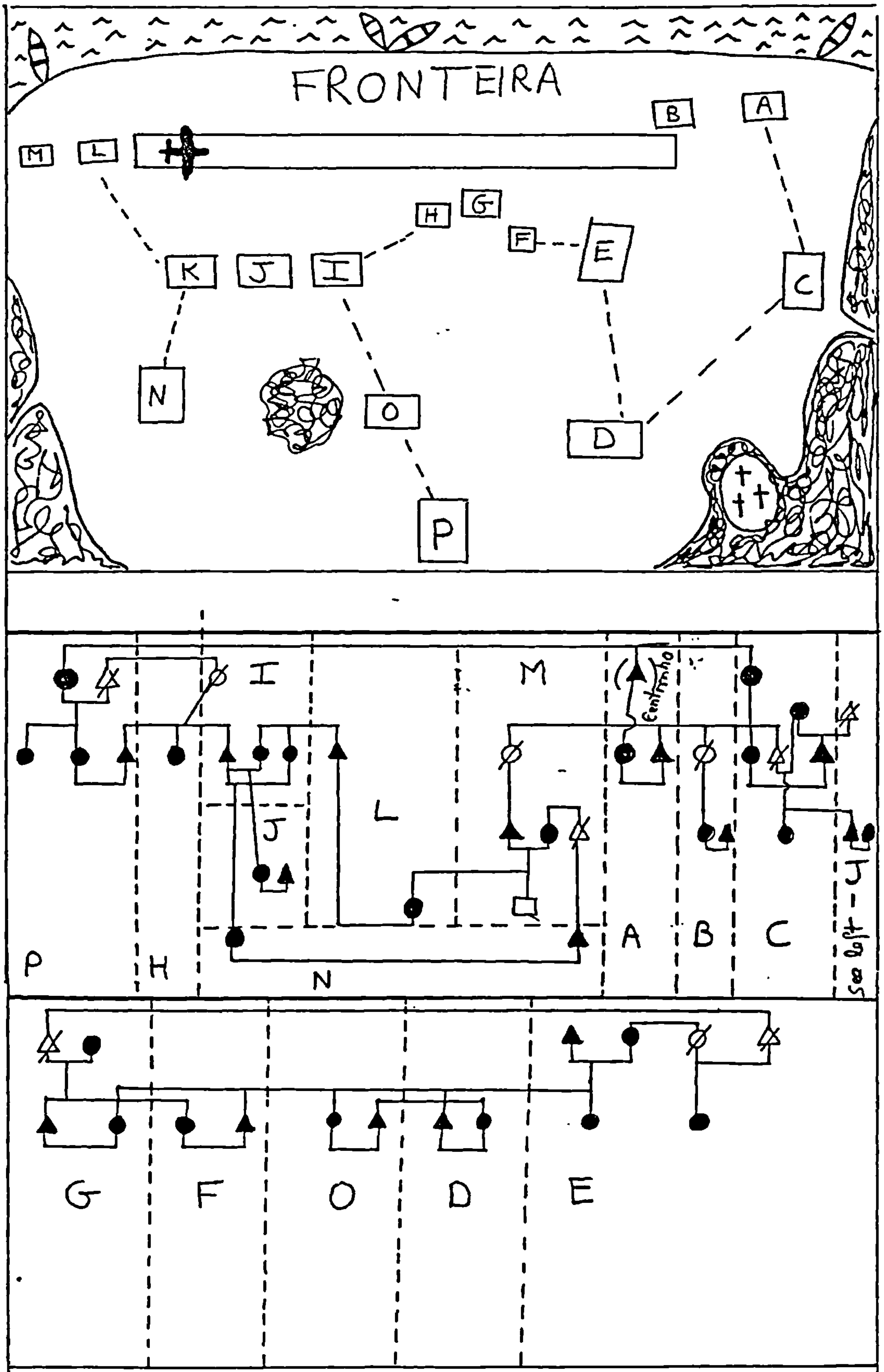

FRONTEIRA
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
I
M
Centrinho
J
L
A
B
C
J
P
H
N
G
F
O
D
E

FIGURE 11 : Settlement and Household Composition - Fronteira 1985

to the generation below Pancho, which conflicts with Kensinger's requirement that focal males belong to the same generation. Secondly, he only acts as male leader when Pancho is away. What is more, Pancho's other brother-in-law (the full brother of the second wife, resident in House 15 then House 16 in 1985) was also sometimes a political leader. One also might find a second focal male in the Inu fathers of these two brothers-in-law of Pancho, Zé Augusto Senior and Sampaio. Both were respected chantleaders and herbalists. I considered all these men whilst I was puzzling over "the structure" of Recreio during my fieldwork. Yet fixing on any one never proved satisfactory. The matter is further complicated by evidence of inter-generational unions, most notably between MB and ZD (which are correct in terms of moiety exogamy) [58]. One might just as well describe Recreio as composed of sets of siblings linked by marriages which are replications of earlier unions in previous and same generations and whose members attempt to organize similar marriages for their own children.

Similar difficulties are encountered when attempting to analyse "the structure" of Fronteira in terms of 'two focal males who have exchanged sisters'. The official male leader, Mouro Domingo, is married to two full sisters. However his wives' only brother, who was married for a time to Mouro's sister's daughter, is in no sense a 'focal male'. In fact there were no other village level leaders in Fronteira of either moiety during 1984 and 1985 (although Mouro's son was beginning to act as a leader at this time). The village (including its satellites Fortaleza, Centrinho and Centro Recreio) is best described as centred on the set of 7 male siblings (of whom Mouro is one) and their sister. The brothers have married members of several other sets of siblings (see Appendix 3), and as in the case of Recreio, one could present these sibling sets as the 'social core' of the community. B-Z ties could be said to underpin the pattern of the distribution of households within the village itself.

The 7 Fronteira brothers' marriages conform to Kensinger's model in that their houses are often built close to that of their wife's brother. Where one brother has married a woman, another often marries one of her sisters. For example, in Fortaleza two of the brothers, married to one sister each, live with their brother-in-law; and Houses G and F; O and D of Fronteira are linked in this way. What is more, the houses are built relatively close together. The Fronteira Cashinahua, then, like those of Recreio, favour the repitition of affinal links established in their own generation. Since the children had not yet married, it is impossible to say whether households G, F, O and D will act on the preference for cross-cousin marriage evinced by the Recreio Cashinahua. However, marriages elsewhere in the Fronteira grouping are clear replications of links between affines established in an earlier generation. For instance in Centrinho, the son of House 1 is married to his FZDD (and see Appendix 3 for evidence of inter-generational replication, including cross-cousin marriage and MB/ZD marriage). It should be noted that here as in Recreio the majority of marriages are moiety correct, that is Inu men marry Banu women, and Inani women marry Dua men. However, unlike moiety, 'marriage sections' do not appear to be a category ordering marriage.

Another aspect of Kensinger's model concerns postmarital residence, which he says should be uxorilocal. In Recreio such is the rule although a few marriages were virilocal at the times the diagrams were made. Such is also the case in Fronteira, where there is a greater tendency for the son-in-law to construct a small house close by his parents-in-law's house (for example houses M and L). The relation between children and their maternal grandparents is therefore a close one, as Kensinger's model suggests. One could of course interpret uxorilocality in terms of the focal position of elder men, as Kensinger's model (though not his analysis of relationships) implies. Such would be the approach of the 'brideservice model', about which I shall have more to say in the next chapter. On the other hand, one might analyse uxorilocality in terms of the focal position of women. I shall be arguing that the Cashinahua think of women sometimes as standing at the centre of social space - a position which differs from Kensinger's.

In the AIAP, then, we can see clear echoes of Kensinger's model, and also ample dissonance. In short, pairs of neighbouring houses linked by "sibling exchange" within villages or their satellites might be described as 'atoms of social organization' (in Kensinger's formulation - see above). But the villages themselves are not primarily based upon such a link between two political leaders. Marriage is largely moiety exogamous, but there is scant evidence for the active working of a marriage section system. Although cross-cousin marriage is one preferred form, other kinds of marriage replication are also common. Postmarital residence is indeed usually uxorilocal, but this can be interpreted in a variety of ways, and not merely in terms of a supposed focal father-in-law position. Finally, in more general terms (and in contrast to the impression given by Kensinger's model), villages are no more than semi-autonomous either socially, economically or politically.

In conclusion, I wish to stress one point. While it is always possible to analyse a structure at any moment of the life of a community, such analysis cannot account for the movements of people which take place from house to house, and from village to village. These changes in household and community composition are an integral part of social life. Structural analysis cannot capture their dynamic, even through a theory of life cycle which 'discovers' different structures at different moments in household or village life. In the case of the Cashinahua, such life cycle analysis would be of little value, since economic, political, and contingent historical factors have had considerable impact on the changing shape of communities. Thus the arrival of the SIL heralded the formation of a village 1,000 strong; the effect of the aviamento system was to break up maloca communities into small families; the political movement of the 1970s allowed scattered Cashinahua to come together, and lay behind the creation of the AIAP community. The processual model of social organization which I propose in the following chapters allows for the movements within communities and between them and, more importantly, for the social and cultural dynamism of the Cashinahua within this wider historical context.

CHAPTER 2: KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Introduction

This chapter is about personhood and gender. I follow a life cycle, from conception until marriage, in order to show how the Cashinahua conceive the linked processual acquisition of gender agency and the ability to be a moral person. In Section (1) I discuss the cultural construction of the physiological processes of procreation, pregnancy, birth and the growth of the infant. In Section (2) I describe naming. I argue that true names lay the foundation of personhood, but are not the means whereby persons acquire a 'social persona'. The Cashinahua think that full moral perspnhood can only come about after the long process of learning and corporeal growth which characterizes childhood and adolescence. In Section (3) I turn to the linguistic development of a child, discussing the verbal skills which it must master in order to be able to interact socially. In this section I return to the subject of kinship. I then move on in Section (4) to a discussion of the cultural production of gender in sexed children, showing how gender is defined primarily in terms of the adolescent's ability to be a producer as well as a consumer. Full personhood is based on verbal social skills in combination with the corporeal and sexual abilities that enable a person to produce. Such abilities can only be fully exercised, I show, in a marital partnership and marriage is the subject of Section (5).

Section 1: Sexual Reproduction

Sex and sexuality are central to Cashinahua social organization, as I will show later. Here I concentrate on the Cashinahua conception of sex and of associated physiological processes. Sex is enjoyed by men and women equally. It is thought to either replenish or deplete a person's body, and to lead to the production of babies.

Procreation and Pregnancy

The Cashinahua term for "making a child" is *ba va*, to make be created or be born. *Ba* on its own means simply "to be born"; it also means "to be cooked". Men and women make babies together and this activity is described in terms of the sexual organs. The male organ of procreation is the penis and the female organ is the womb. Thus, if a person is describing a relationship to a half-sibling, s/he might say:

> *Jina betsa, xankin jabias*
> Another penis, same uterus

For a long time I was puzzled about Cashinahua opinion on the formation and growth of a foetus. Some people told me it was made of "blood", and others that God made it. Despite this lack of agreement, people universally concurred on two points, namely that babies are formed through repeated intercourse, and that whatever man makes love to the mother whilst she is carrying a child, he will also be the father of that child. Townsley (1989) reports that the Yaminahua think that babies are made out of blood and that semen is male blood. This, linked with the following description of procreation in Abreu, convinced me that the Cashinahua also think of semen and blood as similar:

> When the new moon came out two days later, all the women bled. When they had stopped, they became pregnant. The blood coagulated and when the child was born, its body was dark, they say. When the semen coagulated, the child was born white [1].

Babies are made out of the parent's vital fluids, and blood and semen are conceived of as similar substances. *Jimi*, or blood, seems to be the equivalent of Bororo "raka" [2]. Blood is associated with physical energy and strength- qualities that diminish as a person expends blood in work, sex, or illness. Blood can be a dangerous substance. It should never be eaten. If food is undercooked people exclaim "*Jimiki!*" - "It's bloody!" and refuse it. A man cannot make love to his menstruating wife lest he lose his luck in hunting. Nor may any man see a woman other than his wife give birth, for the same reason. A pregnant woman should not see copious quantities of blood, lest she begin to bleed herself. The smell of body fluids is disgusting and in the wrong circumstances dangerous. Parents scold their young children for masturbating, since both semen and vaginal fluids are offensive. "*Itsaki!*", (it stinks), they will say. Thus, men and women should wash well after making love. Traditionally, women made a special ceramic bowl for this purpose.

This does not diminish the Cashinahua appetite for making babies. One man told me:

> One has to work a lot, otherwise it takes a long time (for the foetus) to grow. One thing - the man who wants to produce, who wants to make a baby, he is going to drink a lot of caissuma. He can only do it after the woman menstruates, before that its no use. Yes, there is a mixture of blood and semen. One has to take care, one cannot spoil the milk (i.e.semen). [3]

This description brings out several aspects of Cashinahua conception theory which struck me time and again. In the first place the act of making a baby involves work, repetition. Through frequent intercourse the vital fluids are made to clot and grow fast. Sex is itself work, making the body hot and sweaty, draining it of energy, but ultimately transforming seemingly inert matter into life itself. Both men and women do this work; there was never any suggestion that female participation in either the sexual act or in procreation is passive, whilst male participation is active. Indeed the standard word for making love is *chutaname*. *Chuta* means to fornicate, and *-name* is the reciprocal participle. The idea is conveyed that men and women make love to each other, reciprocally. This idea of mutuality is also found in beliefs about the way that sex can deplete or strengthen a person. I was told that a woman can grow fat and sleek from sex whilst a man grows worn out, thin and weak. This happens especially if he has too much sex. Yet later on it will be the woman who gets worn out from sex and the man who grows strong. There is an 'exchange', a troca.

Menstruation is desirable because it means that afterwards the woman may become pregnant. Cessation of menstruation is a signal of pregnancy. The blood is a sign of her desire to conceive. People told me "She is menstruating as a preparation for becoming pregnant" (*Jimi ikiki, bake bikatsi*). (The particle *katsi*, "as a preparation for" could also be translated as "as a desire for"). Women who have not bled for 3 months are taken to be pregnant. Women who never bleed are infertile. It is said that their wombs are dry, and that sex is painful for them. In a similar vein, women who never have sex suffer from hard, dry wombs. Lovemaking is a kind of "servicing" for women. Although men may abstain from sex for long periods, women should not do without except when they are recovering from birth or menstruating. Such abstinence is unhealthy. One reason given for the abstinence from sex practised by couples during the woman's menstruation is that it would cause the woman to bleed too much. Sex not only stimulates the production of semen it also stimulates the production of blood. Men are thought to open women up with their penises, and in the past first menses was produced in prepubescent girls, who would sleep with their husbands. Sex also prevents menstruation. When it "takes", the blood is caused to clot, forming a foetus, and continued sex makes the little ball (*tunku*) grow, shaping it as it does. Thus, sex not only stimulates the production of life-filled substance, it also shapes that substance.

While sex causes the growth and shaping of the foetus, God gives life, I was told (*Diusun* after Deus). The actual process of forming the foetus is called *dami va-*, which literally means 'to transform'. In myth, people are 'transformed' into animals and vice-versa. When men take hallucinogens, their visions are 'transformed' one into the other [4]. The verb *dami* means 'to transform oneself', for example a caterpillar metamorphosing into a butterfly. A *dami* is a drawing or a doll. Since *dami va-* therefore could be taken to mean to make an image or representation, in this case of a human being, it would seem that the work of sex is that of giving form to the substances that are being moulded. The life that the child has when it is born is God-given. Sex stimulates the production of life-imbued substances, and gives them shape, but it does not cause life itself. This requires the intervention of other-worldly forces [5].

Sex with spirits in corporeal form results in malformations or in twins (*yuxin bake*, spirit children). Yet these deformations in the form of the child can also be produced by eating the wrong kinds of food, and by not eating enough of the right kinds of food. Food, like sex, both makes and unmakes bodies. The informant quoted above felt that a man should drink plenty of caissuma, the thick, pale drink made by women from corn and peanuts that ideally accompanies every meal. Therefore, the substances that are taken in orally by both parents are transformed ultimately into the foetus; or, alternatively, they affect the quality of the vital fluids that will be transformed. In either case the fact remains that the Cashinahua have what appears to be a thoroughly materialist view of conception and foetus growth. What goes in affects what will come out. Hence the warning about having to take care lest the "milk" be spoilt. Men's semen is best produced by female food, then, as amongst the Mehinaku [6]. Conversely, women's menstrual blood is produced by 'male food' (the semen of their partners). I hazard that male food - meat - also stimulates the female production of blood, but I have no informant's account to back up this hypothesis.

The Cashinahua traditionally had complicated dietary restrictions associated with pregnancy and birth. Twenty years of missionary attacks on such dieting, among the Cashinahua of Peru, means that people are not willing to talk about it, but does not seem to have affected the resilience of associated beliefs. More than once I asked people about dietary restrictions, and was told that such things are no longer practised. Yet the same people would turn around and snap at a woman who had just given birth, or someone who was ill, and tell them not to eat a particular item that they were reaching for. One woman was told not to eat armadillo; another that she should not eat male spider monkey; and a sick man was told not to eat a particularily bony kind of fish. My friends were sometimes willing to tell me about dietary restrictions, however, and I can confirm that they are still practised even in the Baptist communities.

One reason for these restrictions, with regard to pregnancy, is that the qualities of the prohibited animal might pass on to the unborn child. Abreu (1914) gives a description of the effects [7]. Kensinger (1981) and Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982) mention similar restrictions [8]. Despite missionary influence, the beliefs and practices first reported by Abreu are still important to the Cashinahua. But they are not unchanged. People are not always sure what is and what is not good to eat. I was sometimes consulted on the matter. For example, whether a sick person might eat black chicken? Or whether a certain kind of fruit would do harm to a pregnant woman?

Crocker's comment on Rivière's (1974) analysis of couvade would apply to pregnancy restrictions for the Cashinahua. He says that the dietary and other postpartum restrictions "stress, over and over the direct, mechanical, metonymic danger of these substances and actions for the infant's own delicate raka" (blood) [9]. Rivière argued that dietary prohibitions had nothing to do with bonds of physical substance between the parent and child, and everything to do with bonds of a spiritual nature. In the Cashinahua case, such an antinomy would not apply. A young child is vulnerable to spirit attack from certain animals that its father or another close relative has killed. The evidence suggests that whilst in the mother's womb such spirit attack, if it occurs, is rather like sex since the baby becomes formed in the image of the animal consumed, rather than its human parent. After birth, the baby becomes ill, not transformed, as a result of such attack.

Few writers have stressed the importance of safe foods, those that are not prohibited, preferring to concentrate on the power and danger of those that are prohibited. This means that the value of vegetable foods, which are often dismissed as "non-prestige" or "mere staples", has been understated. Every diet that the Cashinahua undertake, whether for hunting, first menstruation, illness, or couvade, is based on the same ingredients; boiled manioc, banana, corn and peanuts. These are foods associated with female gender, since it is women who produce them [10]. Caissuma, a drink made from corn and peanuts, is considered an especially important and nourishing food and makes a fine quality of blood for the purposes of procreation. .

In sum, it is believed that a child is made of blood, *jimi*. This is both semen and female menstrual blood. It is a substance imbued with vital force which is moulded by the work of sex in a process described as "transformation" or the creation of shape. The shape of the child is determined by the nature of the blood which goes into its manufacture, and this in turn is determined by the kinds of food that the parents consume before and after birth. The process is indeed a mechanical one, since substance is made from substance. Yet there is more to it than this, in the sense that a supernatural being, God, is thought to play a part in the production of life itself.

Birth and Growth

Women give birth inside their own houses, in the privacy of their mosquito-nets. One other woman at least helps them, usually their mother although any close female friend can help. Strangers are not welcome, and I was never invited to see a birth. The woman's husband plays a crucial role. He stands behind her, supporting her under the arms, while she squats or stands whilst delivering the child. This form of delivery thus emphasizes the male-female nature of parenthood. No man other than the father may see the genitals of the mother, or the blood. If he did, she would be ashamed (*dake*) and the man would be made *yupa*, unlucky in the hunt. Cashinahua childbirth therefore contrasts with other Lowland forms, where men are usually excluded from the birth, or where the birth becomes a collective female rite on a par with male trumpet cults, as amongst the Kalapalo [11]. After delivery, the cord is cut and the placenta is disposed of on the outskirts of the village.

Water is heated for washing the baby and the mother. They recline together in the hammock for several days after birth, hidden from public view. After a few days visitors are permitted to see the child, and the mother begins to move around the house. However she may not bathe for several weeks. This would bring illness to her and the child. The first meal should consist of boiled bananas and food prohibitions such as those described for pregnancy should be observed carefully. These are gradually relaxed until the time the baby is weaned. Women do not necessarily follow all the prohibitions they know about, nor does everyone agree on what they should be. I sometimes saw young mothers reprimanded as they were about to eat something. If mother or child becomes ill, then eating restrictions are adhered to more closely. Food no longer affects the shape of the infant (as it did during pregnancy), but rather its strength and health. Again, the quality of the mother's milk is directly linked to what she eats; oranges, according to one man, make the mother's milk sour. Some men also continue to observe eating restrictions after their child is born.

A description of late nineteenth century Cashinahua birth practices is found in Abreu. Women gave birth outside on the patio, in a walled shelter. Once they were cleaned up, they would be taken into the maloca and helped into their hammocks. Then:

> After 5 days the woman gets out of her hammock. She paints herself with genipapo, so as not to have fever, and so does her husband, and the child is painted too, so as not to have fever. The mother does not stray very far. Once the child is darkened (with genipapo) they always become happy. Once the child is born, the woman does not sleep with her husband anymore. Only when the child stands and walks, do they sleep together (in the same hammock) again [12].

Mothers still paint the child with genipapo, and some paint themselves too. Instead of painting designs, they merely smear the juice into face, hands and feet, or all over the body in the case of the child. This is to "make the child grow"; elder children are sometimes painted thus, for the same reason.

As in the past the mother spends the next several months close by the houses, and will only venture into the gardens with the child when it is 6 months or so old. As women grow older and have more children, they will spend a shorter time away from their usual work in the gardens. Fathers on the other hand both work and hunt as usual throughout, even within a day or so of the child's birth. Couvade is less developed here than elsewhere in Amazonia. Couples sleep apart when the mother is cradling a baby, which she does until it is weaned at about a year. The husband usually slings his hammock next to hers inside the same mosquito tent; or, if he has another wife, he sleeps with her. They will only have sex several months after a birth, "when the bleeding has stopped completely".

The parents must stimulate the growth of the infant and protect it against potential dangers from outside. The child is very likely to become ill and die during the first 2 years of life. (I calculated an infant mortality rate of about 50%). The source of these dangers is always outside and is most easily transmitted by the people with whom the child comes into contact. This is why the parents, and the mother in particular, should be especially careful. The child could be made ill by the food that they eat, or if the mother is careless, by being exposed too young by her to the dangers of the forest and gardens. Exposure to strong sunshine or rain could make it very sick. It could also catch one of the numerous infectious diseases that come from downriver, foreigners, and the towns (Doença do Branco, White's Diseases).

The baby is fed on demand, and milk is considered the means whereby it grows fat and large. Whatever the mother consumes affects the quality of the milk, and thus the growth of the child. Milk is therefore like *jimi*, blood (and semen), since it directly causes corporeal growth. When the child is 3 or 4 months old, the mother will begin to prepare boiled plantain mash for it. By the time it is a year old it will be eating many kinds of solid food. These are given by the mother, with no special precautions (other than removal of fishbones and so on). The growth of the child derives from bland, fat-free foods at this stage. Influences from powerful foods associated with spirits are potentially harmful to its health and corporeal growth. Hence banana, a plant which I was told has no "spirit", *yuxin*, is particularily suitable as a food. Very fatty foods are entirely inappropriate.

Children are reprimanded if they try to satiate themselves, because too much food inhibits their growth. Manioc and banana are safe, but potent foods (including most meats and fats) should only be given them in reasonable quantities. The blood of these latter foods has a powerful spirit vitality (like menstrual blood) which cooking make safe for healthy adults, but not for the sick or the immature. Just as the spiritual intervention of God is required for the growth of the foetus, a well controlled spirit input is needed for the child to be able to grow fat and healthy. This is symbolised by the occasional painting with genipapo.

Genipapo paint is the colour of coldness, darkness, death, the symbol of the outside, of Inca and the forest spirits [13]. When the child is painted after its first few days of life it is given the outward appearance of this other world, and becomes invisible to it. This helps it to grow. The form of the child is "fixed", the shape which has been made by the hard work of the parents during the months of pregnancy is finalized. This, in a sense, is when the child really comes into this world. Its next major encounter with the spirits will not take place, if all goes well, until its milk teeth start to fall, and it is ready to be properly baptised.

Section 2: The Naming System

True Names

A newborn child receives its "true name", *kena kuin*, within a week or so of birth. The naming system works according to a principle of "parallel transmission". The true name comes from a limited stock of names that are passed down through alternating generations from people in the category of maternal grandmother, in the case of girls, and paternal grandfather, in the case of boys. Frequently a child has the same name as its same-sex siblings as well as its same-sex grandparents of the correct category. All of these people, as well as any other person Cashinahua or otherwise, who has the same true name, is a namesake, a *xuta* [14].

Each name has an attached set of euphemistic names, which in the past were used to refer to the person, or as terms of address. The 'real name' was hardly ever used. Nowadays these synonyms for the real name are used less frequently, I was told [15]. Names originally belonged to mythic characters, or else seem to refer to animals, plants and natural phenomena. Bimi for example means fruit; Bixku, a loud bang; Chima alludes to fire; Yavapetudu to peccary; Ixan is a central character of the flood myth, and so on.

True names place people in specified relationships with every other person who also has a true name. The use of this system defines a specific type of humanity, *Xutanaua*. "Namesake People". The other Panoan speakers of the Purus area such as the Sharanaua and the Mastanaua are regognized by the Cashinahua as Namesake People, for example. The Cariu are not *Xutanaua*. They only use Christian names. The significance of true names has been discussed by d'Ans, who concludes that it is thanks to their power as vehicles of social reproduction that the Cashinahua have "survived" contact intact as an ethnic group. However, in the light of subsequent research this seems to be an overstatement; we now know that other Panoan groups whom d'Ans considers more 'acculturated' than the Cashinahua, such as the Sharanahua, have the same naming system [16].

As far as I know, there is no ceremony attached to name-giving at this stage, when the child is a baby. The various people I asked denied that there was any such ritual, and in reply to my questions about traditional forms of baptism immediately referred to *nixpo pima*, an initiation ritual held when a child reaches about 7 years of age.

Usually there is little doubt as to the name the child will receive. Most commonly, in the case of a girl, it will be the name of the mother's mother, the *chichi*, who is nearly always coresident in the house or settlement, and has assisted at the birth. For a boy, it will be the father's father's or *juchi*'s name. If he is coresident in the settlement, he will be living in a neighbouring house along with a daughter who quite possibly is married to the child's mother's brother. The names of MMZs and FFBs are sometimes adopted too (See Appendix 3).

Dabi means to name a child for someone. The name does not imbue the child with the identity of its eponym, but there is a close connection between the two. The *xuta* relationship is referred to frequently in jokes. People tell their cross-cousins to "make a dog their namesake". Men joke with their female cross-cousins, euphemistically suggesting sex:

Min kuka dabidinankave!
Let's go and make a double of your mother's brother!

All its life, the child will have an especially close relationship with the person for whom it is named. This is more true of girls than it is of boys. This warmth is also extended to all people who have the same name. In the case of a girl, she will most probably spend much of her childhood being looked after by her *chichi*, her maternal grandmother, who is nearly always the person for whom she has been named. In the case of a boy this closeness is less easy to define. Boys live with their *chais*, their mother's fathers, rather than their *juchis*, their father's fathers. It is with their *chai* that they have the closest daily contact. I observed many cases of close relationships between female namesakes, but few between male. Nevertheless, the relationship is seen as special. D'Ans had an experience which makes this clear. On the day that he received a true name:

> 'I made for myself on the same occasion a certain number of *xuta* who, especially the young lads, felt themselves entitled to claim a preferential attention which they had never solicited from me before' [17].

In the first months of its life, the child may be called by its true name. The term for "call, summon" and the term for "name" are both *kena*. Therefore the act of calling the child is also the act of naming it. This is mostly done by close relations, especially its parents, siblings and coresident grandparents. The repeated use of the name makes the name attach to the child, and should be regarded as the name-giving ritual itself. It is a creative act, and is referred to as "transformation", *dami vakinan*. This is the same phrase used to describe the formation and growth of the foetus, through sexual intercourse, that was described above. As the child develops, only its parents, and later on its spouse, may address it by the real name without causing offence. Such a use by others is regarded as highly disrespectful. People are reluctant to utter their own names aloud, and become filled with coyness and even embarassment when asked to do so.

> During my very first encounter with a Cashinahua, I received a true name. I was told my relationship to everyone present, cross-cousin, daughter, and so on, and told their true names. "Call him *Epan*, Father; Call her *Chipin*, Elder Sister," my name-giver told me. He added that it was rude to call people by their names, and that Cashinahua habitually use kin appellations. The knowledge of this made me unhappy several weeks later, because the children developed a taste for calling me by my true name. I complained to a friend; but he replied that it did not matter so much. After all, I had as yet newly received the name, and the repeated use would transform me, *dami vakinan*. Later, when I had really "grown up", when I had learnt to do all the things that Cashinahua persons do, the children should not call me by my true name.

This repetition of the name works to attach a baby or stranger to a name, just as repeated coitus works to form a foetus. Children jokingly insult each other by shouting out their true names. Adults tend to ignore this, unless annoyed by the noise in which case the children are reprimanded [18]. A true name is very intimate, and a source of shame; pronouncing one's name out loud is like exposing one's genitals, in that is gives one shame (*dake*) as Overing has shown in the Piaroa case [19]. As an intimate aspect of self, a true name is shameful. This is why only very close people may call each other by true name, which they do at intimate moments, on informal occasions. Thus husband and wife might address each other in this way, and the act of naming is an admission of sexual and affective intimacy. Parents may call their children by name, whilst they are still small. The physical intimacy of coresidence creates a bond that allows the use of the name. Typically, when I asked people for their true name, they would at first attempt to be evasive, and reply that they did not have a name or else lie about it. Onlookers would then turn to me and say that s/he was lying, because ashamed, *dakei*, and then answer my question for me. In such cases there is no disrespect involved, since everyone has a right and indeed a duty to know other people's names. If the person whose name is not yet known will not answer, then someone else should.

True names define people as potential *Juni Kuin*, True People. Upon meeting a stranger, all that need be asked is his or her name, and upon the basis of previous relationships with people of the same name, a reciprocal kin relationship can be established. To have a true name establishes one as a relative of every other person who also has one, irrespective of genealogical distance. This idea is expressed in Portuguese by the term familia. I was told by many people that the Cashinahua belong to one family, and are all relatives, parente. In Cashinahua, as in Sharanahua, this idea might be expressed by saying that all Cashinahua are *nukun yuda*, literally 'our body', *yuda* [20]. *Nukun yuda* is opposed to *yuda betsa*, 'other body'. Siskind, mistakenly in my view, suggests that this is a biologically based metaphor used in the same way that English speakers might say 'blood is thicker than water'; that kinship for the Sharanahua is 'biologically validated, eternally true' [21]. Such would not be true in the Cashinahua case, since kinship is not understood to derive from 'consanguinity' or shared inherited substance. Kinship is constantly fabricated, in the Cashinahua view, just as bodies are, through interaction of a moral and social nature (sociality). Names make such sociality possible.

Therefore, though a child acquires a name and thus a specific identity from a specific relationship with another person, the possession of the name embodies the possibility of general relationships with other people who are not also true kin, *nabu kuin*. Every person, through his or her true name, can be placed in a specific relationship to ego. The name is thus at once an intimate personal possession, a part of oneself not readily displayed before strangers, and also a means of making strangers kin. It is simultaneously a fundamental aspect of individual identity, and an indigenous theory of sociality, as I will show.

Names are associated with the exogamous moieties (Inu/Inani and Dua/Banu). Each moiety has its own stock of names. A person is automatically identified as being a member of one or the other moiety by his or her name [22]. This is something which comes about de facto rather than simply as a matter of time-honoured tradition. Although all names are said to belong to one moiety or the other, more than once I recorded cases of people with the same names who belong to different moieties. In these cases their parents had married "wrong", into the same moiety, or else the people concerned came from different areas, and unrelated families. People consider that their own ascription of relationships between different names is the "correct" version. I might at first acquaintance begin by calling someone - a "Bimi" for example - a certain term, say *eva* (mother/daughter). Then Bimi would tell me that my name had always been a *yaya* (daughter-in-law/mother-in-law) to their name, and that it was quite wrong to address anyone of that name as mother. Thus people conceive of their naming system very much through the eyes of their own experience. It is their own habitual linking of kinship categories to specific names, and therefore specific moieties, which legitimates the connection. Nevertheless there are many mythic characters, attached to one or the other moiety, who seem to have been the original proprietors of a number of true names [23].

For those Cashinahua who reflect on these issues, the importance of these links with the mythic past, with the time of the ancestors, is all too obvious. Names provide a link with people who are long dead, as well as with living people. They become the anonymous past, signs of people who have been safely forgotten, and are therefore thinkable. In this sense names are a component of people which are abstractable from the individual person, from the one for whom one cares and who will be longed for and missed upon his or her death. They are attached to and define the body whilst the person lives, but are safely transmitted to others and repeated into eternity. True names become detached from the body after death, and in traditional funerary endocannibalism, an explicit function of the rites was to detach the name [24]. Some Cashinahua do explicitly make names the link with the past and with future, in what appears to be a theory of cyclical reproduction.

> One man explained naming to me like this: he said that names are like seeds. Once planted they germinate and grow, flower and reproduce seeds. The seeds are kept, dried, and planted again, and the names go on. In this way the *Huni Kuin* never end, nunca acabar.

It would be easy to go on from such a statement to conclude that the naming system embodies a theory of the reproduction of society. This link has been made by others in other similar systems [25]. However I do not think such a conclusion here is justified. The Cashinahua do not oppose the notion of specific individual to that of a social whole. What they do oppose is the notion of corporeal impermanence to that of noncorporeal permanence, of the eternal. Everybody knows the myth about the loss of immortality, and everyone has had experience of the death of close kin [26]. These deaths are very close, and kin are in danger from the emotions that they experience in a physical sense, because their own emotions are caused by the unwanted proximity of the soul of the deceased. The ghost appears to its kin, appealing to them to join it in the afterlife, and their longing to comply causes them to sicken and even die (see Townsley (1988) for a description of similar Yaminahua theory of emotions). The deceased is not conceived as an individual lost to society, but as a specific person with specific links to living kin. Thus, only close kin are at risk from the attentions of the soul. When a person dies, however, his or her Christian name, is no longer safely utterable. The true name itself is already disembodied; it can attach to one body as much as it can to another. Christian names (discussed below) are individual possessions, in contrast.

True names are not mere signs for specific individualities, attached to particular bodies, but rather stand for specific relationships, which are themselves always repeated throughout all time. This is a theory of sociality, then, but not of 'society' (see Introduction). I think that my informant was telling me that the names make possible the eternal reproduction of Cashinahua kinds of relationships. He was not saying, as I assumed at the time, that individual people die, but society (as a sum of individuals imbued with a specific, Cashinahua soul-substance) goes on. It is also not, as I thought, a theory of reincarnation. Unlike for the Nelson Island Eskimo, (who have a naming system similar to that of the Cashinahua), there is no sense in which a name physically inhabits the body. A name is not like a soul, a *yuxin* or alma, which may enter or escape from the body. For the Nelson Islanders, and also the Makuna and the Barasana, a child's name must come from someone who has already died, and the body provides its shelter [27]. The Cashinahua do not think like this at all. This point will become clearer as this chapter progresses.

When we say that names are souls for Amazonian peoples, we must be careful how far we take the analogy. True names are indeed associated with one of a person's souls, his or her 'eye soul', *bedu yuxin*. What is more the term *bedu* also means seed, so it is tempting to think of these souls (which travel to the land of the dead and there reside in immortal time) as potentially recyclable, just like names. But this is not so; rather, names are attached to and represent the immortal aspect of a person's living body (the eye soul). At death the eye souls go to heaven (or hell) and the names detach. Cashinahua children have incomplete souls until around the time of initiation. It is said that, like animals, they have no souls. Having a name is not the same as having a "soul", then. It is not because initiation is also "baptism" that children acquire souls, as we shall see. Rather, a kind of soul - the 'body soul' - is acquired through a slow process, as I shall describe. As children grow up, they build up this soul as they acquire the knowledge needed to live and work like an adult. Girls acquire this knowledge, ideally, from their namesake grandmothers, their *chichis*; boys from their maternal grandfathers, their *chais*. Thus women learn from their kin, whilst boys learn from their affinal kin. This is the ideal form of transmission of knowledge.

Whilst names do embody a theory of a cyclical reproduction of relationships, they do not embody a theory of the cyclical reproduction of persons. That a woman becomes like her elder namesake, becomes made in her image, is something that is made to happen, with time and much patient teaching. It does not happen when the child is named. The child's body is given form, protected and made to grow by the endless labour and care of the parents. It's strength and ability to act for itself are an essential prerequisite to its ability to learn those conscious skills which it needs to be a real person, to be able to care for others. These are (theoretically) taught by the person for whom the child has been named, in the case of girls, and by his *chai* in the case of boys. The child is made into a social being not by the name itself, but by the relationship which it makes possible.

Christian Names

Babies are also given a Christian name, *navan kena*, literally "foreigner's name". It could be several months before this is done. In contrast to naming with *kena kuin*, parents give their child a Christian name unique in the region, at least among other Cashinahua. Non-relatives, sometimes Nawa ('foreigners'), can name the child for the parents when several months old, thereby initiating a relationship of 'cogodparenthood' between the parents and godparents. This is also standard Cariú practice. Sometimes the parents simply choose a name themselves. If there is a Catholic priest passing he will baptise it on their behalf, and the certificate will be carefully kept; its value in dealings with national bureaucracy is well understood.

The child will receive its mother's and father's surnames, in the Brazilian fashion, mother's first followed by father's. However in Peru the Peruvian fashion is followed - father's surname first and then mother's. Some people only use one surname, and some full siblings use different surnames, which adds to the ethnographer's confusion. In fact Christian names are the ones most consistently used.

A person's individuality is represented by her or his Christian name and to a lesser extent surnames. This is more important than the idea of filiation contained in the surnames, as the confusion surrounding them shows. It is extremely important that a person have a legitimate Christian name, without which s/he is not considered a proper person. Only very young babies who die, and ancestors, xenipabu, who were uncivilized and still savage, *puben*, do not have such names. They are not only an indicator of a person's uniqueness, but also of his or her place in the civilized modern world.

Conclusion

In this section I have shown how names place people in a fixed kinship relation with every other named person. I suggested that this should be looked at as a basic tenet of the indigenous theory of sociality. I mentioned that the Cashinahua say, using a corporeal metaphor, that all named people are kin. However I also warned against considering the names as vehicles of some kind of spiritual essence or soul substance. Instead, they are "mere categories" that must be made to have content. Named children and foreigners must be worked upon, transformed, both by repeated use of the name and by practical pedagogy. Only when a child has mastered concrete skills, verbal and physical, may the potentiality of being a social being contained in the naming system be fully realized. In the next section I discuss kinship in relation to the namesake system. Through an analysis of other, related kin terminologies I give some indication of the verbal knowledge of kinship that a child must master and use. From now on I shall refer to true names (*kena kuin*) either as such or as "names". When I refer to Christian names I will make this clear. In Section (4) I shall again return to the subject of names, and their relation to bodies, when I discuss Cashinahua "baptism".

Section 3: Kinship

In the last two sections I showed how a child is formed physically by the parents, who transform their own vital essence into human form. This form is signalled by the application of genipapo, which also acts to "fix" it. After this, by caring for and feeding the child, they enable its own weak vitality to grow and gain strength in a process which continues its pre-natal formation. The child is given a *kena kuin*, a true name, which gives it the possibility of becoming a truely social being. The name is no more than this, however. It is for the child to learn to engage in the relationships which the name makes possible. In this section I discuss kinship and in particular address and reference terminology, which as indicated above is closely linked to the naming system.

Cashinahua kinship is similar to Sharanahua and Yaminahua kinship [28]. Formally, the 'structure' of the kin terminology is that of a Kariera system (see Figure 13 below). The terminology is linked to a preference for cross-cousin marriage; moiety exogamy is accompanied, ideally, by village and kin group endogamy. Kensinger argues that there are (at this level of abstraction) 4 'sections' defined by alternating generation links and each comprised of 2 groups (male or female) of namesakes and their same-sex siblings (see Kensinger (1984a)). Rather than concentrating on the formal characteristics of kinship , which Kensinger and d'Ans discuss, I consider below the way it is used and understood by the Cashinahua themselves [29].

The Cashinahua idea of *nabu kuin* corresponds to the notion of bilateral kindred [30]. The *nabu kuin* are Ego's cognatically reckoned relations, to the level of two ascending and descending generations. Since the Cashinahua favour bilateral cross-cousin marriage at the first degree, this kindred includes both kin and affinal kin. The concept *nabu* corresponds to Piaroa 'chuwaruwang' or Kalapalo 'otomo' [31]. As in these cases it is an 'ordinal' not an absolute concept, a matter of degree rather than inclusion or exclusion [32]. Some people are sometimes classified as *nabu*, and sometimes as *yuda betsa*, 'another family', depending on context and the purposes of the speaker. Although the idea *nabu* may be explained in genealogical terms, as including all the ascending and descending 'consanguineal' relatives of Ego, it is not conceived as a concrete or corporate group of people by the Cashinahua themselves [33]. Kinship is thought of as constantly created and recreated, both through corporeal transactions from body to body and by asymmetrical prestations of food and goods (as I shall discuss in chapters 3 and 4).

The idea of *nabu kuin*, real kin, sums up for the Cashinahua the world of affection, warmth, caring to which all aspire. People say of a person "s/he is my real ...." - "*en .... kuin*", distinguishing him or her from more distant or classificatory relations. These true kin are differentiated from others who are also genealogically linked, but only distantly, *nantakea* (*nanta* means "distant, far"). People sometimes say of such distant kin that they are *bemakia*, and of close kin that they are *kayabi* [34]. All of these people are *nabu*, or parente, i.e. relatives, but only the close kin have a legitimate right to affection, and a legitimate duty to give it. This notion of a circle of people is extended at times to include all Cashinahua under the rubric "relatives"; I was told "Somos tudo familia"- "We are all family". It is also a notion that can suddenly contract. In a dour mood, for example, people in Recreio say of their neighbours in Fronteira that they are unrelated. One visitor from Peru, a half-brother of Recreio's leader, commented that the people of Fronteira are "another race", otra raza.

The phrase *juni kuin* is often used to refer only to Cashinahua people; but it is easily used in other contexts to refer to all indigenous peoples, described by Cashinahua and many other Brazilians as indios. Another term that is sometimes used to describe a group of people is *yuda*, literally body. This is often translated into Portuguese as tribo, tribe. Although both this term and *juni kuin* suggest the idea of common bonds of kinship , they are not kinship terms. Familia and *nabu* sum up the concept of kinship, as something which has a central core, a living group of people who are genealogically related, but who also share names and the namesake system. This is one reason why the Kulina, who do not have a namesake sytem, are only referred to as *nukun nabu* with irony, whereas the Yaminahua can legitimately be referred to as such. Another reason is that Kulina is an unintelligible language, and Yaminahua can quickly be understood.

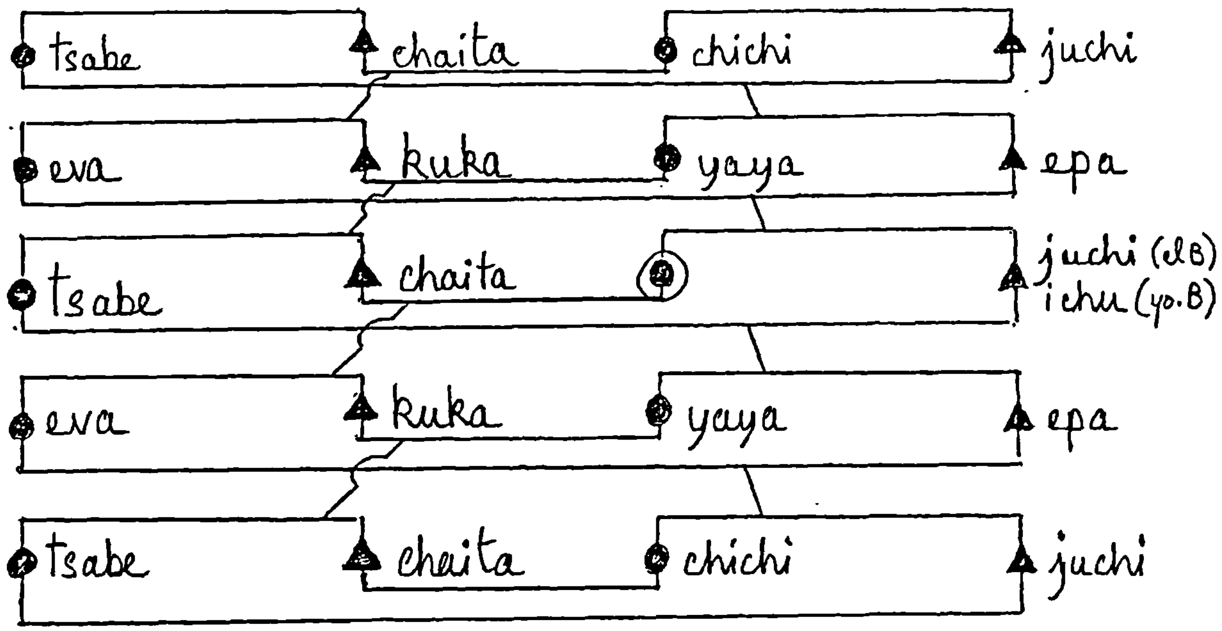
Although D'Ans is correct when he says that kinship is more than genealogical connection to the Cashinahua, and that the namesake system functions to overide any hiccups in the system that are caused by wrong marriages, whilst giving everyone a place in it and a relation to all other people with true names, he is wrong to dismiss the importance of actual consanguinity. It does make a difference who one's "real kin" are.

People long to be surrounded by all their kin, real brothers and sisters, parallel and cross-cousins, real mother and father, and all their maternal and paternal uncles and aunts, and their parents. This is the root of village endogamy; siblings attempt to marry their children to each other's offspring, so that the family may stay together. This is why one must use the term "affines" carefully. For the Cashinahua real affines are first and foremost kin. Only where no potential marriage partner is available or willing do people seek out distant relatives or unrelated people as affines. Marriage is not seen as a strategy for making alliances with strangers, so much as one for making bonds with kin closer. Such is common among those Lowland peoples who combine a Dravidian-type terminology with a preference for endogamy, as Overing Kaplan showed [35]. The Cashinahua, with their Kariera-type terminology and associated moieties, approach strangers in a similar fashion to other endogamous Lowland peoples with differing 'social structural' features.

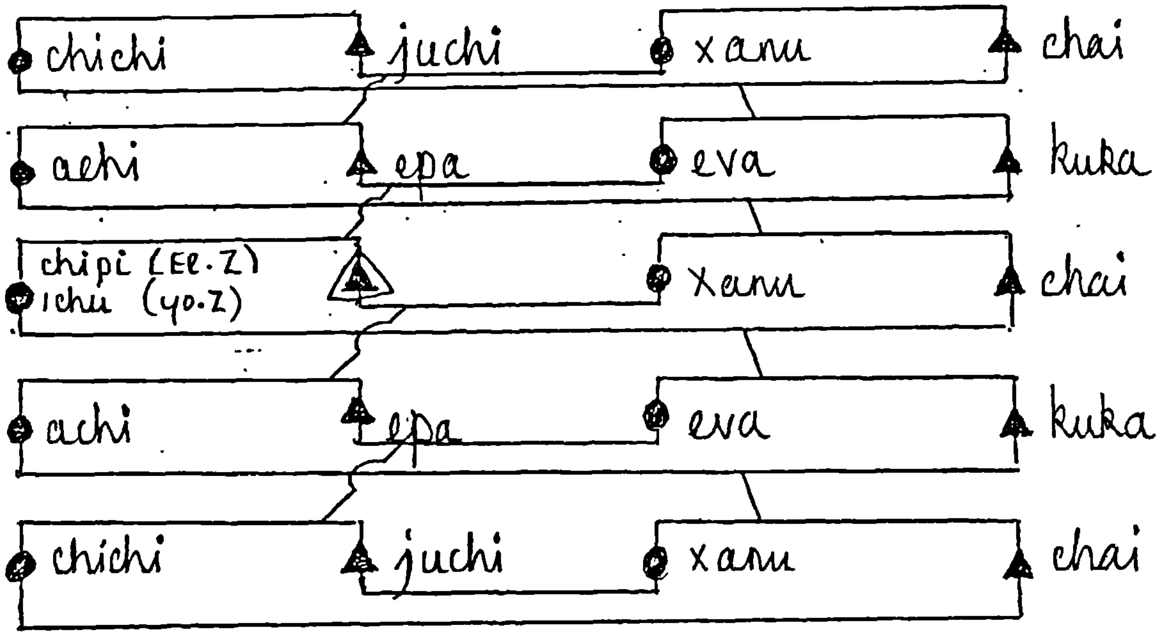
Despite a preference for endogamy, each settlement is not a self-contained unit. Many marriages are in fact between people who are only distantly related. Even so, many of these marriages are contracted between people in the correct moiety relation to each other. Even where they are not the use of relation terms allows the "incorrectness" of the marriage to be obscured and within a couple of generations the only trace of this incorrect coupling may be found in a misfit in the names of the descendents of that marriage and other Cashinahua with the same name and opposite moiety membership. In the next two subsections, I discuss this and other aspects of the use of kinship terminology

Kinship Terminology (1): Namesakes, Moieties, and Filiation

Figure 13 below shows the basic Kariera-type terminology for male and female egos. These terms may be used for both address and reference. Different usages are discussed in this subsection and the next. The figure shows that the terms used for people in the same relative


tsabe
chaita
chichi
juchi
eva
kuka
yaya
epa
tsabe
chaita
juchi (el.B)
ichu (yo.B)
eva
kuka
yaya
epa
tsabe
chaita
chichi
juchi

FEMALE EGO


chichi
juchi
xanu
chai
achi
epa
eva
kuka
chipi (El.Z)
ichu (yo.Z)
xanu
chai
achi
epa
eva
kuka
chichi
juchi
xanu
chai

MALE EGO

FIGURE 13 : Cashinahua Kinship Terminology

position in ascending generations are also used for people in the same relative position in descending generations. A principle of reciprocality informs reference usage between persons of the same sex. For example, my daughter is my *eva*, (female speaker), and my mother is also my *eva*. I will refer to both as such, and they will refer to me as such. They are also, of course, each other's namesakes. In every case of reciprocal reference usage in adjacent generations, there is a corresponding namesake relation in alternate generations. One's children are referred to by the same term as one's same-sex parent and one's opposite-sex parent-in-law, *kuka* (S/MB) and *eva* (D/M) for a woman, and *epa* (S/F) and *achi* (D/FZ) for a man; one's children's spouses are referred to by the same term as one's opposite-sex parent and same-sex parent-in-law, *eva* (M/ZD) and *kuka* (MB/ZS) for a man, *yaya* (FZ/BD) and *epa* (F/BS) for a woman.

These people, to whom one refers by the same term, belong to the same 'alternate generation namesake groups' [36]. The diagram shows how the grandparental generation is referred to by the same terms as one's children's children in the same relative position. Thus the top line reads the same as the bottom line. Each of these people belong to a category that ideally includes one set of names, and people of these categories could be *xuta*, the younger named after the elder generation. The replication becomes clearest in the case of the reference terms for cross-cousin. For a woman, her potential husband and cross-cousin is her *chaita*. This term also refers to her MF and her son's son. For a man, his potential wife and cross-cousin is his *xanu*, which also refers to his FM and his DD. All of these people belong to the same "alternating generation namesake group" [37].

The essential meaning of most relation terms could be said to be confined to the ascending generation. An *eva* is first of all a mother; the daughter whom a woman addresses as *eva* is in fact her *eva xuta*, her mother's namesake, and the daughter-in-law whom a man addresses as *eva* is in fact his mother's namesake, his *eva xuta*. Nevertheless some terms are used more frequently to refer to people of the same generation, especially *tsabe* and *chai*, as if the essential meaning is in fact sister-in-law and brother-in-law (cross-cousin) respectively, instead of FM (female ego) and MF (male ego).

Those people who may be addressed by the same term belong to the same moiety as well as the same alternating generation namesake category. The moiety named Inu (male) or Inani (female) marries into the Dua (male) or Banu (female). The Cashinahua emphasize moiety membership rather than membership in a "namesake group" [38]. Men say that moiety membership is inherited from the father. Therefore sons of Inu men are also Inu, and daughters are Inani; and sons of Dua men are Dua and daughters Banu. Children therefore belong, ideally, to the opposite moiety of their mother. Thus an Inani/Inu child has a Banu mother; and a Dua/Banu child has an Inani mother. Membership is therefore apparently in accordance with a principle of patrifiliation (see Figure 14). Where there is no complication, in terms of "moiety wrong" marriages for example, the premise of patrifiliation holds true. However, the emphasis on the patrifilial aspect turns out to be wrong in the light of cases of mismatches or multiple paternity, as I shall show. Instead of looking only at relations between parents and children, one has to think in terms of alternate generations. This reveals that it is also possible to think 'membership' bilaterally and that women should strictly be thought of as inheriting their moiety affiliation from their namesake grandparent [39].

Multiple paternity is relatively common. In the past women used to have several lovers until (I was told) missionaries persuaded people to behave more monogamously. Many of the cases of multiple paternity that I recorded were in the generation of people in their 30s or 40s, but not all by any means. Women usually have lovers in the correct moiety category, often their actual husband's brother. When they do not, then some confusion can arise as to the moiety affiliation of their child.

This confusion is easily resolved if the child is a girl. She is named after her *chichi*, her mother's mother. The fact that both her biological

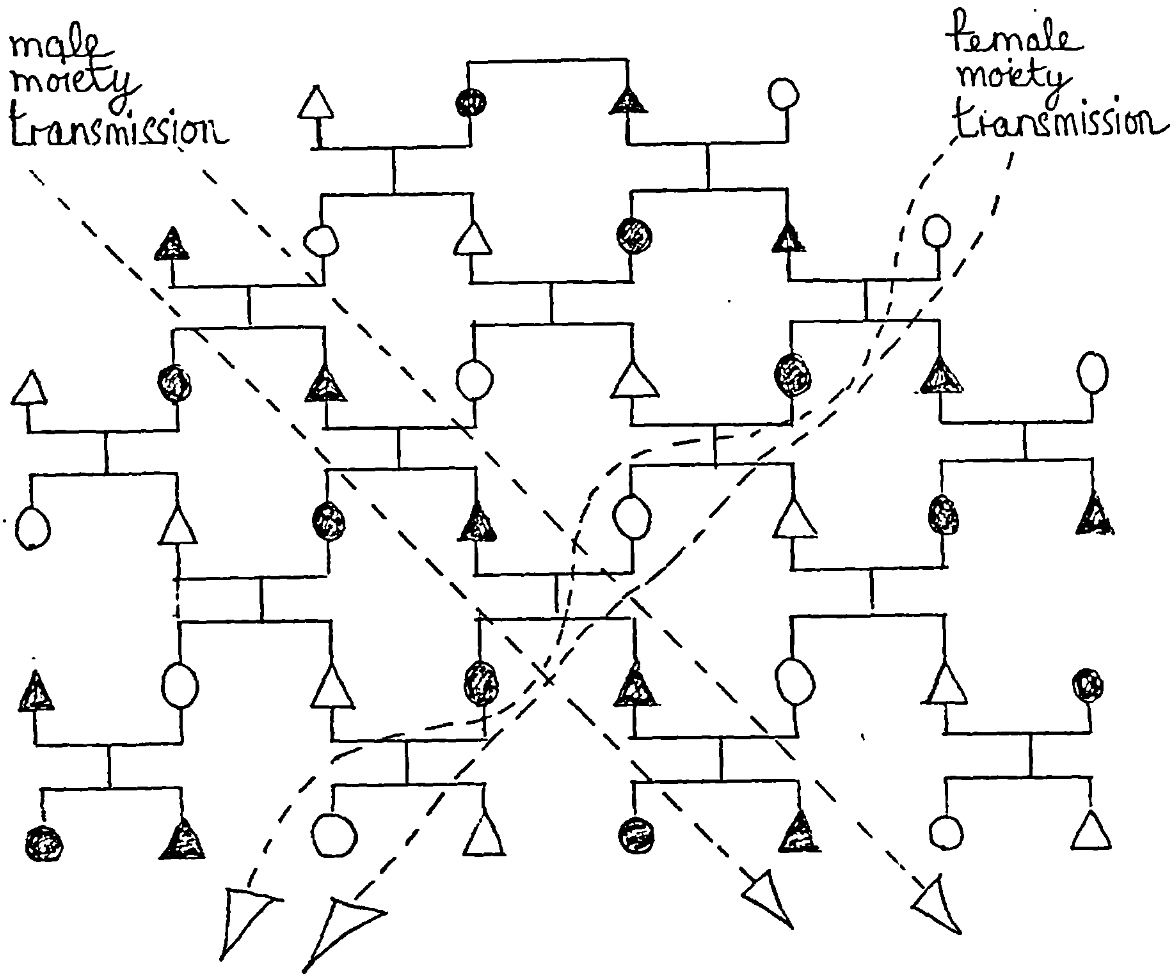

male moiety transmission
female moiety transmission

FIGURE 14 : Male and Female Moiety Transmission

fathers belong to opposite moieties does not impede her filiation into her MM's moiety. It is the link to her grandmother, through her mother, that is important. For a boy, the situation is more complicated, since it is impossible to determine which paternal grandfather is the namesake on purely biological grounds.

> Little Sian is of mixed fatherhood, Dua and Inu. His mother is Inani. Her current husband is the Inu father of Sian, so the couple have made a "wrong" marriage in terms of moiety exogamy. People say apropos of the father that he is really Inu but that he wants to pretend to be a Dua. In any case he raises little Sian as a full son. In fact Sian's name belongs to the Dua moiety in all cases that I recorded, and he was named through his mother for his *juchi*, his MMB. This is in fact someone of the correct category.

In cases of difficulty then, either maternal or paternal lines may be used to find an appropriate namesake. In time, Sian should marry an Inani girl, and the difficulty will be ironed out. Sian has a brother, Kean, the full child of his own mother and Inu father. Kean is unambiguously Inu, and is named for his father's father. Whatever Sian's or Kean's name and moiety affiliation, their relationship to their immediate family is still defined by considerations that would fit into a 'consanguineal' logic. Thus their maternal grandfather, an Inu man, will call both *chai*, despite the fact that the brothers belong to opposite moieties according to their real names.

Moiety affiliation is therefore not only a matter of 'consanguineal' links via a principle of filiation. Links created through the naming system, as described above, are also important, and sometimes take precedence. The fact that ideally moiety membership should fit in with a thoroughly consanguineal system ought not to be allowed to obscure this fact. Our clearest evidence that the Cashinahua also think of the naming system as separate from consanguineal filiation comes from their naming of strangers. Through true names strangers "really" become kin, although this can only take place as long as they learn to behave like Cashinahua, live together with them, marry them, and speak their language. In the past, captured Yaminahua women were adopted in this way I was told. Such exogamous marriages are nowadays rare. Cases of multiple paternity however adequately illustrate the flexibility of incorporation into moiety.

Great importance is placed upon people who are "real kin", *nabu kuin*, actual relations. *Enabu*, literally "my relatives", defines the group of people with whom one should live, such as Sian, his brother Kean, and their maternal grandfather. The bond between these people is emotionally strong, whatever the name relationship or the moiety affiliation, and when they are far away they are missed, *manu*. If the sensation of their absence is made too immediate, the emotion takes on a physical aspect, and the pining relative becomes physically ill. S/he becomes too despondent to work or move. If the person missed is dead, the situation is even more serious, and severe illness or death can result. Living close family, *nabu kuin*, find it very difficult to resist appeals by kin to abandon their settlements and gardens and move in together in the same village [40]. I will show in the next chapter how these feelings are based on the belief that close kin should care for each other and have a right to expect such care. Conversely unrelated people owe each other nothing. Caring for such foreigners is tantamount to making them kin, and kin who refuse to coreside and to work with and share with their own kin are tantamount to strangers. In this subsection I have described kinship terminology in relation to both the naming system and the moiety system in structuralist language. However, the Cashinahua do not think of kinship in terms of a structure. The 'structure' that we may abstract cannot account for the dynamic of social life. In the next subsection I attempt to come closer to an understanding of this.

Kinship Terminology (2): Learning to Speak to Others

In this subsection I describe the set of relation terms that a child learns and needs to know in order to be an adult (see Figure 13 above and Table 4). People learn by beginning with coresident kin and affines and later by expanding usage to include all people with real names. All Cashinahua, and all foreigners who possess real names, are addressed and referred to most of the time by kinship terms or by moiety name. Moiety itself, as we shall see, is from this perspective a notion subsumed

TABLE 4: Glossary of Kin terms

tsabe	(female speaker) FM, MFZ, MBD, FZD, ZL, SD, DSW
chaita	(female speaker) MF, FMB, FZS, MBS, BL, SS, DDW
chichi	(female speaker) MM, FFZ, DD, SDL
juchi	FF, MMB, elB; (female speaker) DS; (male speaker) SS, DDH
eva	M; (female speaker) D; (male speaker) ZD, DL
kuka	MB, FL; (female speaker) S; (male speaker) ZS
yaya	(female speaker) FZ, MFZD, BD, DL
epa	F; (female speaker) BS, SL; (male speaker) S
xanu	(male speaker) FM, MFZ, MBD, FZD, ZL, DD, SDL
chai	(male speaker) MF, FMB, MBS, FZS, BL, DS, SSL
achi	(male speaker) FZ, ML, MFZD, D,
chipi	elZ
ichu	younger sibling
aniva	adopted child or adoptive parent
pui	cross-sex sibling
betsa	same-sex sibling
dai	co-wife
baba	grandchild
xuta	namesake
dais	son-in-law or a man's parents-in-law
babavan	daughter-in-law, a woman's parents-in-law

under that of kinship; belonging to a Cashinahua moiety means being part of the Cashinahua "family", and children learn this understanding of sociality by beginning with their own family. Only afterwards do they learn to use the same terms (with subtle variations depending on context and intended effect) for their classificatory relatives.

The kin to whom a child is closest are, firstly, its parents, *ibu*. This is an important concept. I show in later chapters how it is extended semantically to include the idea of possession (chapter 3), and of authority (chapter 4). If talking to a woman, reference to *min ibu*, "your parent", is a reference to the mother, unless the context indicates the father. Similarily, a man's *ibu* is his father unless otherwise indicated. Children are thus more closely associated in Cashinahua conception with their same-sex parents.

Siblings are extremely important in a child's life and become more so as it learns to walk and is put to sleep in its own hammock in the same mosquito-tent with all of its pre-adult brothers and sisters [41]. Siblings of the same sex are referred to as *betsa*. This term means "other" or "another", so *en betsa* is literally "another me". Contained within this category is the category of same-generation *xutabu*, namesakes. Cross-sex siblings are *pui*. These also share a mosquito tent until the boys reach adolescence, when they are given their own nets. Sexually active youth ought not to remain sleeping so close to their sisters. The girls stay in the same tent with their younger siblings until they are married. Unmarried boys are thus distanced from their kin, whilst unmarried girls stay close to them. In terms of sleeping arrangements as in other contexts, women are more closely associated with the 'inside' and men with the 'outside', as I shall discuss.

Maternal grandmother (*chichi*) and maternal grandfather (*chai* or *chaita*) are also very important in the young child's life. Normally they will be coresident in the same house, since marriage is uxorilocal.

These people, a child's coresident parents, siblings, and maternal grandparents, will care most closely for the child when it is small. They are at the centre of its kinship-defined world.

Many children of course do not live with their real *ibu*, parents, because of death and divorce. Adopted parents and adopted children are both termed *aniva* (adoptive adjacent generation kin). *Aniva* parents raise the child almost as their own, especially if they have no offspring themselves. If they do, there is inevitably some discrimination, but only of a minor sort. The adopted child is always fed and clothed and given affection. The reference term *aniva* is reciprocal, referring both to adopted parent and adopted child. It implies the physical absence of a real parent, *ibu*, and is in no sense interchangeable with the latter term. *Ibu*, unlike *aniva*, is not a reciprocal term of reference. Parents refer to their children as "my children", *en bakebu*.

People frequently call their real mother mamãe and their real father papai (both are referred to as *ibu*). The Cashinahua terms *evan* and *epan* may also be used [42]. Real MZs are called *evan*, though often they are also addressed using a Cariú term, titia. The child will be called by its *kena kuin* during the first years, or alternatively by the appropriate relation term. This is so that it may learn its relationships. More and more frequently, only the parents use its true name, and then only in very affectionate and intimate moments; as the child begins to be able to talk and to correctly identify relationships, people begin to use its Christian name. Parents use this name or the appropriate relation term (*achin* or *epan*, male speaker to daughter and son; *evan* and *kukan*, female speaker) [43].

Brothers and sisters, when children, call each other by Christian name. After adolescence, the elder addresses the younger by Christian name, and the younger addresses the elder as *chipin*, elder sister, or *juchin*, elder brother. These terms are quite affectionate, as well as being respectful. Sometimes the younger sibling is addressed as such- *ichun*, and this usage is more common after adulthood. When the brothers and sisters grow up, considerable respect must be shown and Christian names are no longer used. Younger namesake siblings are addressed as *xutan*, and reply with *chipin*, or *juchin*. The most frequent term of address used by elder people to call their younger siblings, or indeed any younger adult, is the moiety name. The use of this term denotes a relationship of seniority. It is the way I most frequently heard people address their juniors, with the exception of parents their children.

As the child grows its universe of action expands. Little children between about 5 and 10 spend much of the day with others playing in or around the village.. These children address each other by Christian name, and the whole group is addressed collectively as *naban*, "kids". Little girls join in, but by about 7 they begin to help their elder sisters or mothers with various tasks around the house or in the gardens. Often they have a baby sibling to care for, though where there is no girl available little boys are asked to do this too.

Girls spend most time with their *chichi* (MM), maternal aunts, mother and eldest sisters. At this age their adult male cross-cousins might begin to joke with them. The people in this category are referred to as their *bene*, husbands, and the girls are their *ain*, wives. There is no term equivalent to the Sharanahua "bimbiki", cross-cousin. Age difference is less important between these cross-cousins than it is between siblings, and the terms *xanun* and *chaitan* are used in address even between old men and young girls, rather than the moiety names.

Boys whose sisters have married grow up in a close relation to their co-resident brother-in-law; the two hunt together, work together,and crack jokes at each other's expense. This is their *chai*, the person whose sister they might marry, possibly their actual cross-cousin as well. Men have very informal and sometimes close relationships with their brother-in-law, whom they might address as *chain*. The Portuguese cunhado or the derivative cunha is favoured, and has a slangy flavour. Similarily, parallel cousins can be addressed as primo, especially on more informal occasions. Elder and middle-aged men address their younger parallel cousins or cross-cousins by moiety name, though there is a tendency to address cross-cousins as *chain* whatever their age.

Chain is the term used to address strange men, either those whose true name is unknown, or non-Cashinahua Panoan speakers. Some Kulina have also learnt to use the term, and it is well known to those city Acreanos or Southern Brazilians who work with indigenous peoples.

Like the boys, adolescent girls might spend time with their same-sex cross-cousin, their *tsabe*, although the two are unlikely to be coresident in the same house. They could become friends, *jaibu*, and spend time accompanying each other to the gardens, on fishing expeditions, or sitting indoors making up their faces, sewing and so on. Although they call each other by Christian name even at this stage, they might begin to call each other cunhada. Similarily parallel cousins address each other as prima on occasion. Once the girls have married they tend to use the Cashinahua term *tsaben* more often. Real sisters-in-law are sometimes also linked by a relation of'compadrazgo' and if this is the case comade is always used (see N56, Chapter 1).

Men do not seem to make their brothers-in-law compadres so often. Instead they choose people in neighbouring settlements. If people live close together with someone to whom they are in an uncomfortable relationship, the two might decide to become comadres or compadres, thus alleviating the necessity to behave in an overformal fashion. This is illustrated by the following story:.

> Two (only distantly related) men of the same age shared a house because one was married to the other's wife's daughter. (The father was long gone). This relationship ought to have been one of father-in-law to son-in-law, which involves the young man helping the elder man in his work, and is basically hierarchical in nature. In order to avoid this, or the connotations of this carried by the affinal terminology, the two friends became compadre to each other. Thus, the son-in-law could continue to be respectful to his mother-in-law, hunting for her and so on, without carrying over the respect to her husband.

When young men move into their parents-in-laws' house, at marriage, they respectfully address their mother-in-law as *achin*; she responds with the young man's moiety name. Although this is a highly formal relationship, and sex between the two, or sexual joking, is unthinkable, this does not prevent the mother-in-law caring for her son-in-law like a son. She cares for him in many ways, cooking for him, picking his lice, sewing his clothes, or weaving a hammock for him. At such moments she might call him *epan* (F,BS). Her husband also addresses him by his moiety name, and is addressed as *kukan*. This relationship is respectful, but also friendly. The young newcomer works on his father-in-law's projects, such as house-building and garden-making.

These people are each other's adjacent generation affines, *dais*. This term is only used to refer to the relationship between a couple and their male affine in the first descending generation. The parents-in-law refer to the young man as *en dais*, my ZS (male speaker) or BS (female speaker), or 'son-in-law', and he reciprocally refers to them both as *en dais*, my MB or FZ, or 'parents-in-law'. *Dais* is not a term of address. Young babies in the correct kinship category are referred to as *dais* or son-in-law long before they actually marry their *xanu*, female cross-cousin, so this is also a term of affinal kinship. It implies a hierarchical relationship of respect, unlike the term for brother-in-law (*chai*), which is used as the term of address for male strangers. The word *babavan*, a woman's parents-in-law or a couple's daughter-in-law, is heard less often than *dais*. It is its exact equivalent, and refers to adjacent generation affines or affinal kin with reference to a relationship between a couple and their female affine of the first descending generation (BD (female speaker) and ZD (male speaker)). People thus refer to their daughter-in-law/niece as *en babavan*, and son-in-law/nephew as *en dais*. Parents-in-law are *babavan* to women and *dais* to men, whether they are true MBs and FZs, are in the incorrect relationship consanguineally, or are previously unrelated. These terms *dais* and *babavan*, like *aniva* (adopted parent/child) are reciprocal terms of reference between cross-sex relations in adjacent generations. Other than these 3 terms, there are no reciprocal terms of reference across the sexes in either alternate or adjacent relationships, other than *baba*, which refers to 'grandparent/grandchild'.

Women address their parents-in-law (ideally their paternal aunt and maternal uncle) as *yayan* and *kukan*, and are addressed by their moiety name, or else as *yayan* and *evan*. The closeness of this relationship depends upon a number of factors. If by chance a girl lives virilocally, she will be treated almost as a daughter, (and a son-in-law similarily as a son). Nevertheless she should respect her parents-in-law, and her relation with her *kuka* will be especially formal. Her mother-in-law on the other hand is more of a friend and helper than a father-in-law is to his coresident son-in-law.

Potential spouses (ideally cross-cousins) call each other *xanun* and *chaitan*. If one of them marries someone else, they can still continue to use these terms, but as time passes they might begin to avoid the opportunities that such usage implies, in terms of both sex and sexual joking and the elder person uses the younger's moiety name as a vocative more and more. Husband and wife no longer use *xanu* and *chaita*. They call each other *ba* (emphatic *baka*), though only after several years of marriage. This word also means friend, and is employed for strangers of either sex. I was told that when I arrived at a strange settlement, I should call out upon arrival:

> '*Ba*, I have arrived! Do you have Genipapo paint? Fetch it so that you may paint me!' [44]

I rarely heard this term used in this way. D'Ans, however, was addressed as such by the people of Balta, until the night he was named, when they switched *en masse* to calling him by appropriate kin terms [45].

The term *ba* is therefore both a means of implying difference and a means of indicating warmth and affection. Unhappily married teenagers never address their spouses as *ba*, for example. Couples in an established relationship can also call each other by true name. They refer to each other as *en ain*, my wife, and *en bene*, my husband. Co-wives sometimes refer to each other as *dai* ('co-wife').

Grandchildren are referred to as *baba*, addressed affectionately by real name when very small and after that by Christian name, or the appropriate kin term (see diagram above). Grandparents are affectionate to all their grandchildren, but especially so towards their namesakes, whom they favour when giving food and presents, and to whom they owe special services. The children address their grandparents as shown in the diagram, and the grandparents reciprocate with any of the number of terms for children, or with the appropriate kinship term. People may address their namesakes as *xutan*, as long as they are younger than them. This applies across generations, or within the same generation.

People live surrounded by kin who are married incorrectly, or are the product of incorrect marriages, so that the systematic application of kin terms appears to be practically impossible (see Appendix 3). Somebody has a wife who is actually his *pui*, classificatory sister. Another is married to two women who are his classificatory ZDs. Another woman has married her "son". If everyone were to use kinship terms as terms of address, the result would be the endless stressing of the disharmony between practice and theory [46]. This is one reason why the use of moiety name as a term of address is so important. Moiety names used in address serve two purposes. Firstly, they are an indicator of age difference and the associated relation of a hierarchical nature. Secondly, and in contrast, they overide the implication of seniority contained in kin terminology used between elder and younger kin (such as *chipi/ichun* or *chichi/xuta*). The use of moiety as a term of address performs two opposite functions. Moiety is both an egalitarian and a hierarchical principle of social organization, in this context.

Besides denoting age difference, a moiety appelation serves to homogenize younger adults into the 4 classes defined by the moiety names, Inu and Inani, Dua and Banu, whatever the relationships between them, and between them and their elders. Only the most senior people remain differentiated by the consistent application of specific kinship terminology. This has the effect of emphasizing the specificity of people in the parental generations (those of the original names), and the homogeneity of people who are their junior siblings, their offspring or their offsprings' contemporaries (those named after their elders). This effect is important in terms both of political philosophy and practice. It means that young adults are categorized as the "children" of their elders, in a relationship of authority and obedience [47].

Children themselves, however, are not addressed using their moiety name, until they reach adolescence. There is a sense in which moieties are only most appropriately made up of strong and productive adults, so that the old are beyond moiety as a social category, already in the class of 'ancestor', whereas the young have not yet been fully integrated into moiety. Indeed old people are often referred to as *xenipabu*, or, in Spanish and Portuguese as antepasado - 'ancestor'. *Xenipabu* refers to the recent (adult) dead, as well as to mythic characters, sun, moon, and certain stars. Old men are *mestibu*, and old women *yuxabu*, but these are not terms of address. On the Jordão, old men are frequently referred to and addressed as velho, and old women velha, pronounced "hey" and "heya" respectively in the regional manner.

Moiety names are also used to refer to other people. Conversations are littered with references such as "*nukun Dua*", "our Dua". This usage is interesting because, although the speaker is generally senior to the one referred to, s/he includes the listeners in the category of senior person whatever their relative age. The effect in large groups, such as political meetings, is to lessen the importance of seniority, and to emphasize the identification of persons with their moiety affiliation. In fact moiety used in reference rather than address only has hierarchical implications in certain contexts; if the speaker and the person referred to are already in a relationship of such a kind. If they are not, then the mention of moiety is devoid of such connotations.

> Maria S.(*Yaka*), a Banu woman, lives next to the Inani Maria D.(*Bimi*), whose daughter has married Maria S.(*Yaka*)'s son. Neither of the two

elderly women are related, but they call each other *Evan* (M/D). I found this confusing, since the women were the same age, and I thought *tsaben* (ZL/MBD/FZD) might be more appropriate.I asked why, and Maria S.(*Yaka*) replied that Maria D.(*Bimi*) is "My Inani" and that is why she calls her *Evan*. In fact some of Maria S.(*Yaka*)'s daughters and maternal aunts were *Bimi*, which explains the usage. However, any seniority implied by the relationship was absent between the two women, and the term "Inani" was not meant to imply hierarchical distinction.

We can conclude that moiety names used in reference can denote mere distinction as well as hierarchical distinction, depending on the context of use. The Cashinahua say that the most important function of moiety is to provide a framework for the organization of marriage. They conceive of the relationship between same-generation affines as egalitarian, as is reflected in the use of terms such as *chai* and *tsabe* (see above). Thus when moiety used in address to denote mere distinction is applied to this relationship, it reinforces the egalitarian nature of inter-moiety relations. When it is used to refer to cross-moiety relations involving seniority (for example *kuka/eva* (MB-ZD)or *eva/eva* (M-D)), then it reinforces the hierarchical nature of moiety. This is because moiety is both an egalitarian and a hierarchical principle of social organization.

There are many ways of talking about others or addressing people, and the discussion in this section has been too brief to pinpoint all the subtleties of usage. The speaker might, for example, wish to stress a particular relationship. Thus, if two people related as siblings are talking, and the speaker refers to someone who is younger, wishing to stress relative seniority, s/he will say "our (moiety name)". Or alternatively, the same speaker might wish to stress another aspect of the relationship, such as potential affinity if referring to a cross-cousin, in which case s/he will say "our spouse". In order to stress a relationship that the person addressed has with the person referred to, people often use "your so-and-so" in conversation. Endless subtleties are possible, and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into them all.

Finally, Christian names and surnames are rarely used when talking about other adults except to clear up confusion. The more distant the person discussed is, in terms of kinship and also of residence, the more likely that they will be referred to by Christian name and surname. I never heard real names used as a term of reference except in the case of long dead persons who had never possessed a Christian name. Even so, I did not hear of these people in conversations between Cashinahua, but only when I was researching the subject and asking people directly. These people's names are remembered by those who never knew them because they are namesakes of their own kin.

Once a child knows how to address and how to refer to its kin, it is considered to be a potential social being, though not yet a fully adult one. In this section I have given a brief description of the kinship knowledge that the child needs, and in so doing have provided a glimpse into the social world of the Cashinahua. Although children by the age of seven have learnt the basic linguistic data that they need for social interaction, they must still be transformed, by the active intervention of adults, into adults and full persons themselves. The first stage in the final production of growth in immature people is the initiation ritual *nixpo pima*, which is the subject of the next section.

Section 4: Initiation and Adolescence

In this section I show how children are made to grow from infant people who only consume, to adults who produce in their own right, beginning with the initiation ritual *nixpo pima*. This is held for children of both sexes between the ages of seven and ten. It is not a rite of passage in that it merely marks a new phase in a child's growth, and delineates the point in the continuing process where children are beginning to be moulded into male and female persons.

Nixpo Pima, or Cashinahua Baptism

This ritual was described to me as Batismo Kaxinauá, Cashinahua Baptism. Its most important function is seen as the definitive attachment of children to their names [48]. It marks the end of the period when children are relatively undifferentiated in terms of gender, and the beginning of the period when they take part in gender specific activities as adults do. Thus, boys are taken on hunting expeditions by elder male relations, and girls are expected to help their mothers and elder sisters. This is the time when children cease to be mere consumers, and begin to become producers as well.

Abreu's informant insisted that children who were not initiated in *nixpo pima* would die [49]. People no longer make this claim, for the good reason that there are many children who remain uninitiated, and who have suffered no ill effects. Not every community has a chantleader who can sing the songs required for the ritual, and this is always the explanation given. Where someone is available, people insist that when sufficient children are ready, they will hold a ceremony.

I never saw this initiation ritual, and am therefore only able to present a sketch of the proceedings based upon informants' accounts. I feel that I can only draw the most general conclusions about the nature of the symbolism of *nixpo pima*, which, although sufficient for the purposes of this thesis, are only a fraction of what there is to know. As well as collecting descriptions of the proceedings, I have taped several hours of the songs which are sung during the ritual [50].

Nixpo is a forest plant which, if chewed, covers the teeth in a shiny, pitch-black layer, which is said to harden them and protect them against decay. There are several kinds of *nixpo*, and the kind which really blackens is referred to as *nixpo kuin*, true *nixpo* [51]. The stalk is broken off and its end is stabbed against the teeth until the desired effect is achieved. Several stalks and a certain amount of patience are required. This is described as "eating *nixpo*" (*pi*) (although it is not swallowed), and *nixpo pima* means "to cause to eat nixpo". Adults eat it from time to time, in order to protect their teeth they say. In several of the *Kachanaua* increase rituals that I observed the participants blackened their teeth when they were busy painting their faces and decorating themselves (see below and chapter 5). Children are not allowed to eat it until they have been initiated. This would be highly dangerous, and they would grow sick and die.

Girls and boys are initiated together. In most of the descriptions I received the gender of the initiates is not mentioned, and they are described as *bakebu*, children. In Abreu as well, there is no distinction made [52]. This is important, because until now the children have been treated as of the same kind, as *naban*, or *bakebu*. Only after the time of initiation do girls and boys begin to work at gender-specific tasks, in the company of their elders, and begin to be referred to as *chipax*, unmarried girl, or *beduna*, young man. In the songs sung during the ritual, there is some reference made to gender-based differences, for example in the summoning of design magic for the girls (see below). Also, during the daytime rite in which the children are made to run, women lead the girls, and men lead the boys. However I am unable to be more specific than this.

The initiation takes place when the winter or rainy season corn is ripe, in December-January. This time of year is *xekitian*, corn time. Every year at this time a festival is held which is centered around the green corn, *xeki pachi*, and every few years nixpo pima becomes part of festival.

Preparations begin for a *Kachanaua*. According to my informant, the men of one moiety disappear into the forest for up to 10 days on a prolonged hunting expedition. They return loaded down with smoked meat. The men of the other moiety come back from a long fishing trip at a lake with smoked fish and caiman. Meat and fish are to be gifts for their *chais*. Each moiety gives in its turn, one in the morning the other in the evening. At nightfall an all-night dance begins, during which men and women together call or name (*kena*) cultivated plants. As they sing, they circle a hollowed out tree-trunk, which appears to symbolize both a womb, and the first space in which the Cashinahua were created. Above it are hung manioc tubers and bananas. In chapter 5 I show how Kachanaua is an increase ritual which stimulates the reproduction of natural species, including human beings, through the incorporation of outside powers in the form of forest spirits into the heart of the human world. *Nixpo pima* may be held simultaneously.

One evening in 'corntime', the children are brought to the leaders' house, where they string up their hammocks. At night they must lie stiff and straight in their hammocks. If they fidget or move, a poisonous snake would bite them. The women sit beside the hammocks all night, singing and rocking them backwards and forwards. In the patio beside the house, a large pile of firewood has been prepared, and the men dance *pakadin* beside it all night [53]. In some accounts the initiates must stay in their hammocks for several days; when they get up for whatever reason, they should look only at the ground, and if they glance at the light or at the forest they will be doomed. But in my principal account, the children are taken out at dawn, and washed with a special 'work medicine' (*daya dau*) called *xakechive dau* and *xanchu kume* dau (unidentified). After this they are painted with black genipapo by the women.

At dawn on this first day, everyone is called to the leaders' house. Here, the initiates are given caissuma made from green corn (*xeki pachi*), but no other food. After this the 'jumping along', *ixchubain*, begins. Women pull the girls along, and men (the leader dressed in *tete pei* ceremonial garb - see below on male initiation) pull the boys. Whilst the girls are made to run, the boys rest, and vice versa. All day the adults force the children to run about the village, refusing to let them flag. This is very unpleasant, and many children begin to cry and complain, but they are not allowed to stop. Those children who fall are the ones who will die young. Even though they are very thirsty, they are not allowed water, only caissuma of corn, which they are given again at midday (according to one informant) this time mixed with peanuts. At sunset they are allowed to stop, and the men again perform *pakadin* on the patio, whilst the women sing and rock the ramrod stiff children in their hammocks. This daytime running and nightime singing and rocking continue for 3 days. On the final day, at dawn again, they are given *nixpo*. In the past this was when perforations in their earlobes, nasal septums, nostrils and lower lips were made, but this practice was abandoned in the 30s in the Jordão area, and around 1965 in Peru. The parents and parents-in-law then perform *dawai pakadin* on the patio. This was described to me as a 'kind of carnival' involving *chais*, *xanus*, *chaitas*, and *tsabes*. Men and women of one moiety throw mud at the men and women of the other, and vice versa. The men dance thrusting their buttocks towards their *chais*, who try and cover them in mud.

During this time the initiates are not allowed to eat any meat, salt sweet things, or to drink water. This is *samake*, dieting which takes place on all occasions that people are more vulnerable to the spirits, such as at first menstruation, during the acquisition of the ability to hunt, during illness, initiation as a chant-leader, and pre-and post-partum [54]. The children are only allowed to drink corn caissuma, *xeki mabex*.

After they are given *nixpo*, the dietary restrictions continue for a week, until their teeth 'are healed', as one man told me. Abreu also reported that the diet is only broken when the black has come off the children's teeth. The ideal corn for making their caissuma, I was told, is a variety that has black grains speckled among the yellow. At the end of this period they are fed with a little meat, but must vomit it up. A collective fish-poisoning expedition is organized, and the first real meal that they are allowed includes fish not meat. After this they can slowly begin to eat other kinds of prohibited foods and meat again.

The mythic moieties 'Inu' (jaguar) and 'Dua' (shining one) feature in the *nixpo pima* songs that I have recorded. In the songs, the singer takes the listeners on a journey to the village of the Inu people (Inubu) where, dressed in *tete pei*, the garments of the Inca, (harpy eagle and macaw tail headress, cotton shirts with woven-in designs - see drawing in Chapter 5), they sing Ho Ho dances as in Kachanaua, on the patio of the Inca village (the Inubu are associated with the Inca figure). The singer addresses his *chichi*, MM. Many different Inca characters are named in the songs and they appear to be equated with the Inu [55]. In the next song many names are repeated (though not ones that I recognized from other contexts) and the names of all the different kinds of corn are reiterated again and again. The singer calls the corn to grow well [55]. The rythmn changes once again, and the singer praises the abundance of corn, and asks for some corn as a gift from the people-spirits or Incas of the Inu village. It seems fair to conclude on this basis that corn is associated primordially with the Inu moiety [56].

The next songs are concerned with the return visit of the Incas to the Duabu. The Incas are urged to leave the village of the *chana*, the japim birds, which are also associated with Inu. They are made "hungry for *nixpo*", apparently by the Duabu. The terminology used in the song is significant, if the listener remembers that the Inca are the original cannibals, who used to subsist off human flesh. Like Jaguar and Harpy Eagle, they are terrifyingly carnal in their appetites. Before human women knew how to give birth, they would go to the Inca village where their stomachs would be ripped open and the babies removed. The corpse of the mother was then consumed by the Incas [57]. (Male death in present time is said to be indirectly caused by the Inca). The Cashinahua use the term *pintsi* to mean that they are hungry for meat, whereas *buni*, the term used in the song, denotes mere hunger, a craving which is satisfied by vegetable foods. The singer explained the song to me thus:

> They made Yuxin Navan Inu hungry. Then, they made Chana Dua Inu hungry; then Isa Jana Inu and Duasana Inu, and Jidixanu Inu .... but there are lots of them! [58]

The songs appear to be directed at making the desired relation with the Inca-Inu safe by removing their hunger for human flesh. After the Duabu make the Inu-Inka hungry for *nixpo*, the Incas depart, by river. The last two songs in my recording are concerned with urucu, which is the colour of the Dua moiety. The singer bids his listeners to paint with all the different kinds of urucu.

In the first half of the song-cycle, corn features very often. It is associated with the Inu-Incas. In the second-half of the cycle, set in the realm of Duabu, it is not mentioned at all. What appears to be happening is a progression through a first, dangerous period, when humans are still attractive to the hungry Inca, to a second period when the danger has passed, and human flesh is no longer attractive. This would be analogous to the two phases of the initiation, before and after the eating of nixpo. Before the children are initiated, they are only allowed to drink corn caissuma and eat the blandest foods. Only after they have eaten *nixpo* and it wears off may they begin to eat dangerous foods again. In the light of what we know the initiation ritual does for the children, it is possible to suggest an interpretation of this analogy.

Nixpo pima is most commonly said to be the Cashinahua baptism. Although babies are named soon after birth, the names are only fully attached during the time the child approaches adulthood. As I describe in the next subsection, some time after initiation the child is formally taught the knowledge it needs in order to be able to engage in adult social interaction. As a "rite de passage" *nixpo pima* prepares the child for the corporeal engagements with the spirits that it will have to undertake during these lessons in order to become adult [59]. By doing so it does not cut the child off from one "natural" or pre-social phase and insert it into another or "social" phase. In no sense does the child suddenly change into a social being; this is something that happens gradually as s/he grows and produces offspring. However the association between *kena kuin*, real names, and *nixpo pima* should indeed be explained by the increasing social ability of the child. As I have said above, names represent the possibility of this sociality. Their attachment is linked to the increasing ability of the child to produce as well as consume; in other words, to be a social being.

Names are eternal. They are endlessly repeated despite the death of the bodies they are attached to. They are like the seeds of corn, I was told, and as long as there are people with true names, the *Juni Kuin* will never end. It is especially appropriate that the origin of corn is with the Inca-Inu, who are associated with the immortal, the unchanging, the perfectly ordered [60]. They are the cause of human death, lusters after human flesh, living eternally in mythic time in cold, clean and orderly villages. Corn is thus a perfect metaphor for unchanging order, as my informant suggested. In the songs, the singer repeats names and then the names of corn, and so on, thus suggesting an association between names and eternal Inca corn.

Corn reproduces cyclically just as names do, but it can only do so by passing through a world where its body grows and dies. Hard seeds are stored so that when the season comes round, they may be planted and the life of the plant-body be reinitiated. Just like human beings, corn has a hard and a soft aspect. Its eternality is only assured by human agency bringing it to life annually. Corn is therefore also associated with the Dua, the moiety of heat, corporeal growth and decay, of transient life in this world, as well as with Inu. The yellow corn speckled with black seems to me to symbolize this double quality.

The songs thus describe the creation of life, associated with Dua, from the stuff of death, associated with Inu. It is the relationship between the two principles that is important, the endless cyclical circulation between the living and the dead that is being called upon in the ritual, and within which the growing children are placed. Corn is a metaphor of the eternal, but the food itself is substantially of this world, life-producing. It is, as one man emphasized, essential to drink plenty of corn caissuma in order to make a foetus grow well [61].

Caissuma, and thus corn, become living human substance. It is a safe food for the children, since vegetable substance is uninteresting to cannibal spirits, whereas carnal substance, created by the eating of meat, is. Thus, whilst the children are being given their connection with an eternal and powerful spiritual force, embodied by their name and associated with corn, they are made literally into corn itself so that the hungry Inca spirits who are being brought to them do not also devour them. Even so, the process is still very dangerous. Thus the children must not move at all, they must stay ramrod still all night, like a corpse, so that snakes (the physical manifestation of powerful spirits) do not bite them.

Speckled corn seems to be the perfect variety for *nixpo pima*, as I was told, because it combines the colours associated with Inu and Dua moieties, light and dark. It is thus able to symbolize the cyclical relationship between them. This progression is also captured in the life cycle of corn itself.

When the children are given *nixpo* to "eat", the corn has just begun to be harvested, and is still green, soft and sweet. But within a week or so it hardens on its stalks, and men and women must plan to harvest it all and bring it to the houses for storage. As the corn hardens, so the effect of the ritual "takes" for the children and they begin to be able to eat meat again. Hence the black comes off their teeth, but the teeth are said to be hard and protected from decay [62].

These teeth, it should be noted, are the adult teeth of the children, which have replaced their milk teeth. Teeth are said to have a "soul", *xeta yuxin*. This time is then especially appropriate for the children to be named, and given some permanence within the world of adulthood. It is as if the weakness and softness of their new state as people who eat nixpo - that is as named persons- takes effect, and hardens just as the corn does, and as their teeth do. The children become hungry for *nixpo*, like the Inca, and they become like the Inca in that they have eternal qualities attached to them. Like the jaguar (*inu*) and the harpy eagle, they become eaters of meat. They can eat without fear of spirit attack, illness, because they too are eaters of *nixpo*.

One final connection between hard corn, names, and immortality associated with death, should be pointed out [63]. Traditionally, the Cashinahua, like other Panoan speakers, practised endocannibalism. The body of the deceased was boiled and the flesh eaten by its close kin, I was told. The bones were baked to be later pounded up and consumed by immediate kin mixed in with corn caissuma, or (according to other accounts) with a soup made from green bananas and game meat [64]. The bones were ground, like hard corn, in a woman's rocker mill. Thus it seems even more logical that corn should be of the Inu, since the most enduring part of the dead is associated with it. At death, there was indeed a return, a circulation between dead and living, enacted through the literal consumption of both the soft and the hard parts of the body [65]. In one text, the informant states clearly that these endocannibalistic rites were the means by which the name was finally detached from the deceased, thus allowing his or her soul to make the journey to the land of the dead [66].

I said at the beginning of this section that my information on the symbolism of *nixpo pima* is incomplete. Thus the interpretation that I have presented above should be understood as provisory. However, certain points are very clear:

Names, associated with eternal, cyclical reproduction are fully attached to humans at a point in their life when they have mastered certain social skills, but have yet to learn the essential practical skills of gendered adulthood. In terms of development this means that names are associated with the practical social abilities, especially the correct use of kinship terminology, which the child should have mastered. The naming ceremony prepares the way for later training that the child will receive, and which will turn her or him into a fledgling adult. It does this quite clearly by putting the initiate into a situation of extremely dangerous, but controlled, contact with the spirit world. This contact is at once literal, since the spirits are said to actually come to the village, and also metaphorical, as my discussion of the potential symbolism of corn and teeth indicated. Once s/he has passed through this barrier, then the later contacts with the plant and animal manifestations of the spirits that are required for the acquisition of knowledge become safer. (I discuss this in the next section).

Thus *nixpo pima* marks a stage in growing up, and finalizes it so to speak, by the firm attachment of the name. It also prepares the way for the next stage, by making the child into "one of the eternal", one of the eaters of *nixpo*, and therefore a *juni kuin*, a real human being. At this time of their lives, people become partially immortal, meat-eaters like the jaguar, no longer easy prey for the Inca spirits which are so hungry for human flesh. The weak humanity of the children is disguised, as it were, under a clothing of immortality, and the inevitability of their bodily demise postponed. It is no wonder, then, that children are only said to have souls when they reach this age.

Learning Adult Skills: the Production of Gendered Persons

Nixpo Pima marks the first step in the formal creation of gendered difference between boys and girls. Until this stage the single category *bakebu* or (in address) *naban* has been adequate to describe both sexes of children. But after this ritual, sexual differentiation will increasingly be linked to gender differentiation, as the budding adolescents are taught the productive skills associated with male and female gender. Boys and girls, through the active intervention of their kin, are made to grow into the age categories of *beduna* (young man, youth) and *chipax* (young woman, nubile girl). The cultural production of gender is thus linked closely to the economic process, so that only producing adults are completely gendered, and only gndered adults are complete persons. In this subsection, I will describe the cultural production of gender, and the similarities and differences between the transformation of boys into men, and girls into women. I will show how the differences between the two processes are closely linked to notions of male and female agency, and to the relation between human agency and both social and economic process. It should be clear at the outset that the Cashinahua do not think of male and female agency as exclusive to either sex, in that men can cook at times, women can kill. Female bodies are better at doing the things that women do, and male are better at doing the things that men do. As such male and female agency are merely kinds of human agency, and men and women are kinds of human beings.

Male and female agency, for the Cashinahua, are opposed but complementary within the economic and social processes. Men kill and fetch, (both *aka-*), whilst women transform (*bava-/bama-*). The opposition is reflected in the way that agency is formally acquired. Women learn in a relation of kinship, from their MM (*chichi*), their own namesakes; men learn in a relation of affinal kinship, from their MF, (*chai*), their brother-in-law's namesake. Women learn in a predominantly conscious mental state, whilst men learn both in a conscious state, and through hallucinogens, in a state in which their bodies are unconscious to the everyday world. Finally, men learn by moving away from the village, travelling in the forest and the city whilst both conscious and otherwise, whereas women learn when relatively immobile, staying in their *chichi*'s house.

Maternal grandparents produce gendered differentiation in bodies which the child's parents produce by feeding. Central to Cashinahua theories of pedagogy is the idea that corporeal production must go side by side with the production of memory and knowledge in a person. Whilst an infant is growing, it is the parent's relation with its body that is all-important, and institutions such as couvade and post-natal restrictions for the mother ensure that its corporeal growth is successful. Parents must feed it the correct food at the correct time, and withhold food at other times, so that it does not weaken and become ill. Certain foods are especially detrimental, as I have shown. Grandparents are supposed to assume responsibility for the corporeal production of adulthood in adolescents alongside the continued care of the parents. Namesake grandmothers preside over the first menstruation seclusion of girls and prepare their bodies for learning female skills such as weaving, whilst maternal grandfathers preside over the production of male bodies suited to work in the gardens, hunt in the forest, and fish in the river. Thus maternal grandparents have a double role; not only do they pass on knowledge to their children's children, they also prepare the child for the corporeal acquisition of the knowledge and for its physical accomplishment. Eventually the child can master the skills of learning for itself, without the intervention of others, as I shall describe.

Before I discuss these relationships in more detail, it is necessary to briefly describe Cashinahua epistemology. To do this, I must outline their theory of 'souls'. I have chosen to gloss the term *yuxin* as 'soul' for several reasons, not least of which is that the Cashinahua themselves translate *yuxin* into alma (Portuguese or Spanish for 'soul').

The *yuxin* is a being intangible in ordinary states of consciousness, akin to a 'force' or power, since it affects the state of the bodies and inanimate objects or substances it inhabits (for instance, people die when their *yuxin* leave their body). But in abnormal states of consciousness (when asleep, ill, dead, or hallucinating) the *yuxin* is tangible and visible and has human form. At night too, when normal vision is obstructed by the dark, souls invade the space around the living, and become audible, and almost visible. They are like European ghosts, though shyer and less powerful, since a lighted lamp, or a shut bedroom door, can usually keep them from disturbing the sleeping bodies of the living. I also use the term 'spirit' to gloss *yuxin*, because the same term is used to refer to normally invisible forest and river beings (see next chapter).

Children and animals have no alma, no soul, one man told me. Nonsense! said another, they have eye souls, *bedu yuxin*, like all living creatures. Children have weak and underdeveloped body souls, *yuda yuxin*, unlike adults. This soul 'contains' all the knowledge and memories that a person acquires through life. Yet the acquisition of knowledge requires a relationship between these two major souls of a person's body, as I shall show.

A person has a number of different named *yuxin* associated with its body and there is some disagreement in the literature about this [67]. It seems that the important dichotomy is between the true soul, which informants term *yuxin kuin*, *bedu yuxin*. *nama yuxin*, and the body soul or shadow, *yuda yuxin*, or *yuda bake*. Which term is used depends on context; thus the *nama yuxin*, dream soul, wanders as the body sleeps at night, or when it is ill; but when a person dies, the Cashinahua say that his or her true soul, *yuxin kuin*, finally departs for the land of the dead. The eye soul is associated with immortality, and the body soul with mortality. The dream soul has no destiny after death, because it is merely an aspect of the true soul. During life it can detach, *dapake*, from a sleeping body; but the eye or true soul does not leave altogether until death. It is unusual for the Cashinahua to specify which soul they are referring to in daily conversation. Mostly people talk about the generic category *yuxin*.

Parts of the body which detach also have souls; hence the tooth soul, *xeta yuxin*, escapes when a tooth falls out. Some bodily substances are also *yuxin*; the faeces soul, *pui yuxin*, and urine soul, *isun yuxin*, are the spirits that bother people as they sleep, causing insomnia. They are troublesome, but not dangerous. Blood and semen are not termed souls in this way, but I would suggest that since they are transformed into babies, there is some case for arguing that they too are *yuxin* - as forces which may be transformed into human bodies. Finally, emotions and moral qualities are felt by some people to be *yuxin*, associated with the eye soul, or the heart [68]. The most powerful soul of all, and the most dangerous, is the body soul, the *yuda yuxin*, which after death haunts and attacks the living until it is forced to return to the forest [69]. It is with this soul and the eye soul that I am concerned here.

The eye soul (and its dream soul aspect) allow a person to see, but knowledge itself is accrued within the *yuda yuxin*, the soul which is attached to the body like a shadow. This is the soul of wakefulness, consciousness, knowledge, and progressive memory, like the Yaminahua 'diawaka' or shadow soul [70]. Townsley's excellent work on Yaminahua personhood and death inspired this understanding of Cashinahua epistemology. The 'diawaka' is the seat of consciousness, thought, will and knowledge, and the vessel of a person's memory, the aspect of a person that interacts with the living. In contrast, the eye soul, the 'weroyoshi' is that aspect of a person which interacts with the dead and other spirits. Whilst it is wandering the body is dormant, unconscious, unable to speak, and the body soul is inactive as a result. But on its return to the body, the body soul can return to consciousness, fortified perhaps by the knowledge acquired.

The Cashinahua body soul is memory and knowledge attached to a person's body. Such memory may be induced by preparing the body, through fasting, the taking of emetics and the use of other medicines; or it may be induced by enhancing a person's ability to see (*uin*) and to understand or hear (*ninka*). Vision is an important ability for those who are learning, and hunters and weavers sometimes prepare herbal infusions to wash their bodies so that they can see clearly. Most pedagogy involves the pupil watching the actions of the teacher, rather than listening to explanations. Indeed the Cashinahua are notoriously reluctant to engage in discursive pedagogy, as Aquino noted [71]. They feel that foreigners like children should learn by watching and imitating rather than by hearing and putting into practice. During dreams and hallucinatory visions people are said to travel and 'see', thereby getting knowledge. When a sleeper awakes, s/he is able to relate what has been seen and perhaps learnt during the night. The Cashinahua customarily ask 'Did you dream (and what)?' (*Min java namaxinmen?*) as a polite morning greeting. Such dreams have the power of foretelling some future event. Sometimes, they are simple journeys to other places and states. Similarily, visions induced by drugs might predict the future or simply reveal facts about other places and their inhabitants, as Kensinger and others have described (see below). Ordinary waking vision, and the visions of the dream soul, are both important forms of acquiring knowledge, then. However, only men should learn through drugs. Women learn principally whilst they are 'awake'.

In both cases, the state of the eye and its 'eye soul' (which some say is visible in the light of the eye) is important. It is interesting to note that the culture heroine and primordial creator of the Cashinahua, Netebuekun, was blind when she created the first people [72]. For bodies to be able to produce in their own right, they must acquire knowledge through the intermediary of their 'eye soul', the aspect of the body that is immortal (since it goes to the land of the dead after death). Body souls can only be the repositories of gendered knowledge, then through the activity of the eye soul, and of the eye. For boys, however, the visions of the eye soul are relatively more important than they are for girls. This is related to the masculine field of productive action, which involves a more extensive knowledge of distant places than women need. Also, and equally importantly, this is related to the ability to be fearless that men need in order to be able to withstand the danger abounding in those distant places, as I will show. In the next subsection I will discuss the creation and constitution of these two complementary forms of human agency.

Female Agency and Productive Skills

Girls first learn to spin cotton when they are 7 or 8 years old. As a girl approaches puberty she spends more and more of her time spinning, and the resulting balls of yarn (*tunku*) are used by her mother or elder sisters to make hammocks and shoulder bags. In myth, was the spider first taught people to spin [73]. Later, at around 11 or 12, the girl begins to learn how to weave, both cotton cloth, and certain baskets (*chichan* and *kakan*) and mats (*pixin*). To learn to weave design into these baskets and above all the cloth is a more complicated process than learning to spin. The Cashinahua are famous for their woven textiles, which are produced using techniques similar to Andean weaving, but designs characteristic of Lowland traditions [74]. Skilled weavers are highly valued by Cashinahua men and women alike.

To learn to weave design, a girl must fast, and be treated with medicines by her *chichi* so that she remembers clearly and easily. The teacher sings *pakadin*, ('prayer', reza, I was told) in a private ritual. She might also wash her with infusions of plants that help her to be clear-headed and to concentrate [ ]. Women who learn well and fast are considered intelligent and skilled, whereas those who do not learn well (or sometimes at all) are weak-headed. Cashinahua women often told me that design is their form of writing (also called *kene*). Women who are particularily skilled are rare and much praised by others, in very much the same way that certain men are noted for their ability at hunting.

The practical teaching involves long hours of watching the needle, as it is threaded in and out of the warp. When each row is complete, the weaver inserts a design marker stick at the reverse side of the crossed warp strings, so that two lines of weft can be completed in one line of weaving. Then the weaving batten is used to push the marker stick back before being pulled out, the weft thread pulled through, and another line of design marked. The pupil only pulls the weft through when the marker sticks impede the continued progression of the design, and the cloth is taken down, reversed, and the sticks pulled out as each reverse pattern thread is pulled through. After several shoulder bags, the girl begins to insert the pattern itself, whilst her teacher sits beside her watching for errors and telling her the number of lines of warp to pass the weft thread over, and the number to pass under. The girl must learn 3 or 4 complete sets of these numbers in order to qualify as a "woman with design", *ainbu keneya*, a high accolade.

Design, *kene*, was 'given' by the boa in mythical times, as a young schoolteacher from the Jordão explained to me:

> The giboia taught the old woman to weave design into the things that she wore. Her skirts were all coloured and patterned like the giboia itself. A litle boy shot arrows at the snake, out of mischeviousness. Annoyed, she told the child that he must never kill her, and then took him out into the forest to teach him to hunt. After this, the giboia left [75].

In myth we therefore find a connection between the female skill of design, and the male skill of hunting. In *nixpo pima* songs, we find reference to this original gift. During the night the women, singing a *je* chant, demand in their song that the children of the spirits give their designs [76]:

1- *Kene dau ikaii Xamanchi inanve*
2- *Chana Dua Bake kene dau ikaii Xui Bai inanve*
3- *Chana Dua Bake kene dau ikaii Navan Kene inanve*
4- *Nava Tete Bake kene dau ikaii Chede Bedu inanve*
5- *Chana Dua Bake kene dau ikaii Xenau Xeka inanve*

Each of the characters is asked to make design medicine, *kene dau*, and ordered to give (*inanve*) a particular design. For example in (4) Harpy Eagle Child is asked to give the design called "Eye of the Parakeet" (see Figure 15). The same designs are used by women to paint faces and bodies and to a lesser extent pottery [77]. A girl's pots and pans represent one of the skills which she should acquire in order to become

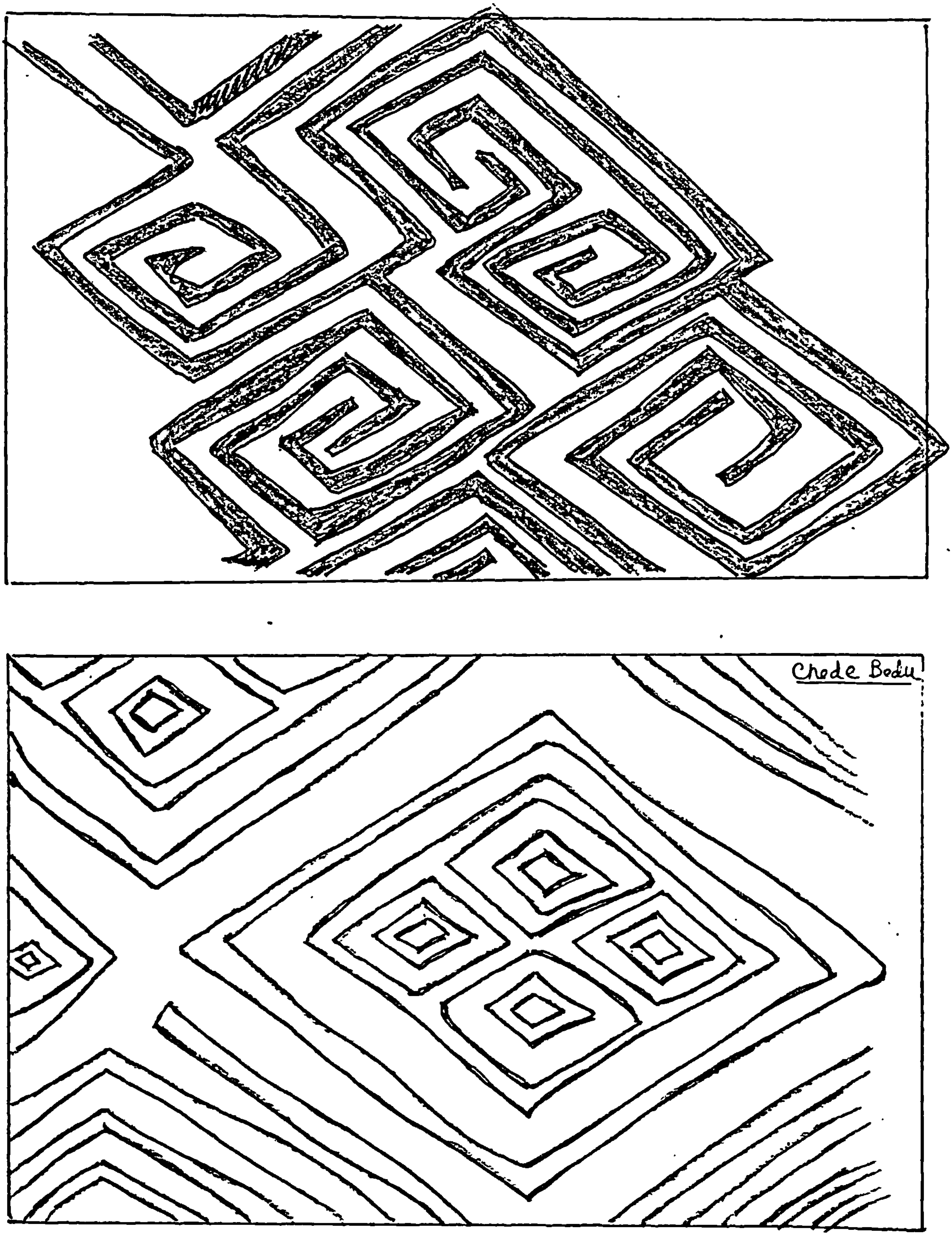


FIGURE 15 : Cashinahua Designs

a real woman, *ainbu kuin*: cooking. Girls are taught to cook by their mothers and elder sisters, whom they spend many years helping before they may cook in their own right (after marriage and the first child). Young girls are bad cooks, and cannot be trusted to carry out an entire process from harvest to serving carefully and skillfully. It is difficult to boil manioc just right, or to toast corn or peanuts an even brown without burning the grains (as I discovered during my own apprenticeship). When a girl can do this, she is praised; "Now you are a real woman, you know how to cook properly - '*bava unanki*'. A bad woman, by contrast, is *bavauma*, 'without cooking', too lazy or sloppy to prepare food properly. Such a woman grinds her corn roughly, and fails to keep dirt and fibres out of her food. Worse still, she does not cook the meat and fish that her men give her enough, leaving traces of dangerous raw blood in the meals she serves (*bama*, 'uncooked').

The term for 'cooked' is *ba*, which in verb form means to create, to procreate and to be born. Cooking food (*bava*) is analogous to making babies. Similarily pots are analogous to wombs. Women are responsible, then, for transforming raw substance (meat, fish, vegetables) into cooked and edible substance just as they are responsible for transforming raw human blood into 'cooked' babies in their wombs. Neither process, as I shall show, is possible without the help of men and complementary male agency. Certain kinds of hollows are associated with creation and transformation in myth. For example, the myth of the first creation relates that people were first shaped within a hole (*xankin*) in a tree (M5). The same term is used to refer to women's wombs (*xankin*).

First menstruation marks a woman's ability not only to transform, but also to produce the raw substance (female blood) which along with male blood will be transformed. Unfortunately I have never witnessed the private ritual that a first menstruation is said to occasion. However, I was told that it involves a period of semi-seclusion and dieting, initiated by induced vomiting. Menstruation signals a woman's desire and ability to have children, as I described at the beginning of this chapter. During her first menses, a girl must refrain from eating strong foods, especially meat, stay close to home, and work on her newly acquired skills, under the tutelage of her maternal grandmother.

Menstruation in mythic times was brought about by the intervention of Moon (*Yubenawabuxka*) when a young girl denied his human identity and referred to him as Moon (*uxe*) and not by name or kin term. This myth is a variant of one of the best known Amazonian stories (M1). It suggests that for the Cashinahua too menstruation is associated with cyclicity and immortality (*yube* is also the name of a snake and immortality is linked to the periodic sloughing off of skin [78]). Since that time, women have menstruated regularily, the Cashinahua say. It is thought that a young girl can be made to menstruate by sexual intercourse, as in other Lowland cultures such as the Shavante. In Abreu there is a report of a people called the 'Binanahua' who cut girls hymens in a ritual reminiscent of Shipibo so-called cliterodectomy [79]. As far as I know the Cashinahua never performed such surgical interventions, but they did encourage sex for pre-menstrual girls until recently. Sex is said to be good for a woman's health, as long as she is not already menstruating (in which case she would bleed excessively) (see above).

Menstrual blood, as Kensinger has shown, is offensive to the forest and river spirits [80]. The smell draws the attention of the spirits to the presence of human beings, alerting them to possible danger and causing them to interfere in their activities. One reason, then, that a girl must stay at home is to protect her from these spirits, who would be angry at her intrusion into their domain. Menstrual blood, like other bodily substances, links humans to spirits, because it makes the separation between human domain and spirit domain begin to break down. Its smell 'makes a path' from one domain to the other and makes normally invisible humans visible to the spirits. This is why men may not sleep with menstruating women, for they become bad hunters as a result. The blood clings to them and they may only be rid of it through dieting .

In short, female agency involves the ability to produce a variety of objects, to paint and weave design. and to transform raw substances into 'cooked' or processed things and people. These are termed 'real', *kuin*, by the Cashinahua, for example real hammocks, real pots, real design, real food, and real people. All of these are opposed to foreign things and people. Women thus stand at the centre of the production of what constitutes Cashinahua cultural and social identity, rather than at the periphery as has been suggested in other Lowland cases (such as the Gê) [81]. They do this in a relationship of close kinship with their MM, their namesake, who prepares their bodies for learning, and shows them basic practical skills. During their apprenticeship the girls must master certain female qualities that they will require all their producing lives. They must learn to be patient, to be able to sit at home for days on end weaving, spinning and caring for newborn babies. During this time they begin to acquire the corporeal softness and the rounded shape that characterizes feminine bodies, and that a first pregnancy will bring to perfect completion.

Male Agency and Productive Skills

Men and women admire teenage girls for plump and beautiful bodies. During their first menses semi-seclusion, girls drink quantities of caissuma, which is said to fatten and cause growth (Tem muita vitimina, 'Its got lots of vitamins', they say). It is *xea dau*, 'fattening medicine'. Women prize long strands of white beads which they wind tightly around their wrists, ankles and calves, marking gentle curves into the flesh. Men do not grow as women do from caissuma; instead they grow bigger, harder, and more muscular. This is said to be because their adult bodies are produced differently from women's.

As is common elsewhere, sex is thought to inhibit male growth a little at this stage, and to help female growth, so that whilst young female adolescents might marry safely, boys often have to wait until they are nearing their twenties. But young men do have affairs, and I never heard adults criticize them for thereby endangering their growth in the way Mehinaku parents do [82]. At the age when girls first menstruate (13-14 in the cases that I came across) boys are taught formally to hunt and and to work in the gardens. Much of the practical knowledge that these activities require is already mastered at this stage. Boys accompany their elder siblings, brothers-in-law, fathers, MBs or MFs on expeditions into the forest from the time they can walk fast enough. But, I was told, certain kinds of work and hunting magic are beneficial at this later stage. These are ideally performed for the boy by his *chai*, his MF, in a series of private rituals. However, I was also told that some of these practices are 'satanic', involving as they do the consumption of a snake's tongue, and for this reason have been virtually abandoned in the Purus region (where Baptism is most influential) [83]. I did not see the rite involving snake consumption; but during my stay in Recreio another form of hunting magic involving a poisonous frog was carried out. The frog's skin exudes a poisonous juice, which 'burns' the skin and has emetic properties. The rite took place at night, before dawn. After the boys had vomited they went hunting with their *chai*, brother-in-law. Vomiting cleans out the body. Good hunters neither smell nor sweat as they move through the forest and are said to be 'cool' [84]. Bleeding women, in contrast, are both smelly (like fish) and 'hot'. Thus, whilst they should wash themselves frequently (traditionally in ceramic bowls made specially for the purpose) they ought not to enter the cold river. In the Cashinahua theory of illness, such a conjunction of heat and cold would bring on a fever (hence those with fevers must neither drink not come into contact with cold water).

The protracted dieting that followed on the consumption of a *yubexeni*'s tongue (a kind of boa) was initiated by such induced vomiting. Such a diet simultaneously acted as hunting magic and as work magic, I was told [85]. Boys would progressively learn how to kill and eat a variety of animals after the diet began, becoming *dekeya*, 'with tracking skills', in the process. Other herbal infusions and a kind of root found in the forest were also used as work (*daya*) and hunting medicine (*dau*) [86]. The boy was washed with other infusions in order to improve his sight. He would also begin the long training in the taking of hallucinogens that Kensinger and others have described.

Nowadays hunters devote less time to ritual dieting and hunting magic than used to be the case, and certain practices have been abandoned altogether. When the middle-aged hunters of Recreio were young, they were initiated into the hunt via a prolonged diet, lasting about 30 days, during which they were not allowed to eat anything sweet or salty, and no meat at all, after killing the *yubexeni* boa and eating its tongue. The transmitted abilities of the snake (itself the physical manifestation of a spirit being) helped them to kill a large game animal afterwards. Another kind of animal they could eat at this time was a rat (*maka*), because 'eaten by snakes'. Such hunting magic appears to function in the same way as dietary and other prohibitions surrounding birth and illness. Corporeal contact with specific animals and plants transpose their characteristics to the boy, so depending on the classification of each plant or being, contact is sought or avoided.

Similar kinds of fasts, though of shorter duration, help restore a hunter's skill if he has been consistently unlucky. Kensinger says:-

> "A man who is distracted or continually misses his shots is thought to have been invaded by a foreign substance, called *yupa*, which can only be removed by his undergoing a month-long fast, abstinence from sex, and, finally, a purification ritual."(1975:29)

The Cashinahua of Brazil very rarely said that a man was *yupa*, except in jest; more frequently they would say that someone was *dekuma*, literally "without tracking", a label which could apply equally well to a dog, just as its opposite, *dekuya*, "with tracking", is applied to both successful hunters and hunting dogs. Both *yupa* and *dekeuma* are translated into Portuguese as panéma, a category which is important in Cariú culture. Some Cashinahua have adopted the Cariú belief that a dog that is touched by a broom will become panéma. Hunters who have contact with menstrual blood are also made unlucky, and for this reason wives sleep apart from their husbands when they are menstruating. However there is no prohibition on sex before or indeed during the hunt.

Boys thus initially learn to hunt by observing dietary prohibitions which help form their bodies, like girls during their first menses. But the male diet moves into an active phase, when the boy goes out to hunt specific animals in the forest, unlike the girls who continue to 'study' at home in their MM's houses. Ideally, the boy is guided by his MF (*chai*) in his attempts to kill specific animals, as well as in his diet. In contrast to girls, he will also attempt to absorb the tracking and killing skills of the snake into his body, thereby making himself *menki*, a good hunter. As well as all this, he will also begin to take the hallucinogen *nixi pae* seriously at this time [87].

Kensinger says that in hallucinogen-induced visions, or in their dreams, Cashinahua men try to:

> establish cordial relationships with spirit beings encountered ....The spirit familiars and pets gained in this way protect and assist the hunter [88].

This relationship with spirits is very different from a shaman's relationship. A shaman is unable to hunt because the game animals appear to him as human beings and friends. If he were to kill and consume one of the animals that are sometimes categorized as *yuxin*, like jaguars, the spirit would find him and make him ill [89]. The shaman looses his ability to make distinctions between domains, or states of consciousness, so that enemies are like kin, humans like enemies, victims like friends. A hunter, in contrast, has no such problems of classification. There is no muddying of the boundaries between spirit world and waking world. In his vision, an animal is just an animal, and may be killed. Although with his repertoire of calls he can trick the animal to come to him, he then firmly delineates the difference between himself and the creature by killing it instead of befriending it, as his seductive calls led it to believe he would. Seduction, in human relations, leads to affection and procreation; in relations between men and prey, it leads to murder and death. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Cashinahua told Kensinger that after sex a man's penis is like a 'broken arrow' (Cf. Kensinger in press). Women, in this imagery, temporarily destroy a male capacity for violence, associated as it is with the seductive techniques employed by hunters. Penises are like arrows in another way, because sex might cause women to bleed, instead of to stop bleeding (as it should except for pre-menstrual girls), as I discussed above. If human beings were really to seduce the animals, transgressing categorical boundaries, then (so the myths warn) the consequences would be dangerous (see M5 for example). Women, being more visible to spirits than men when they menstruate, are in greater danger from spirit attack, involving seduction or possible rape by male spirits and jealousy from female spirits [90]. Like shamans, they are bad hunters, because they cannot always keep the boundaries clear.

Hunting skills are obtained partly through daytime vision (looking and remembering), and partly through 'dreamtime' vision, via the wanderings of the dream soul (*nama yuxin*), an aspect of the eye soul (*bedu yuxin*). When the drug-taker awakes, he can remember his visions, thus transposing the knowledge obtained in the world of spirits into his conscious repertoire, stored in his 'body soul'. Men seek other kinds of information besides hunting hints. Indeed, I was not told that the taking of *nixi pae* is for the purpose of hunting. In Recreio, there were no sessions during my stay, nor did I ever participate in drug-taking elsewhere [91]. A few men from Recreio would sometimes travel to Fronteira to take the drug in the regular Saturday night sessions that one of the seven Domingo brothers would organize. In their visions, which they described as "Indian cinema", cinema de caboco, they travelled to cities, such as São Paulo, and other faraway places that no Cashinahua has ever seen. Similar descriptions were given to Aquino by the Cashinahua of the Jordão, and Siskind by the Sharanahua [92]. Except on the Jordão and in Peru, I did not come across men who said they took *nixi pae* to the accompaniment of traditional chants. The new style of musical accompaniment involves either battery-operated record players, or guitars and other musical instruments adopted from the Cariú.

Kensinger describes a *nixi pae* drinking session in his article "Banisteriopsis Usage among the Cashinahua" [93]. After darkness has fallen, the men congregate where the drug is stored and help themselves, chanting over the brew before they drink in order to ask for good visions. Then they sit beside a fire on stools or logs. Soon the visions begin and people sing their own chants, or sit next to someone who knows how to sing. They sway their bodies to the rythmn, and converse with the spirits of the drug. Most people maintain physical contact with the men next to them, which helps them to overcome their terror. Only the most experienced and strongest sit alone. Kensinger stresses that the search for knowledge itself, which is accomplished through the wandering of *nama yuxin*, the person's dream spirit/soul, is a highly individual affair.

The men say they experience transformation (*dami va-*) as rapid motion, visions changing from one to another. They see snakes, jaguars, spirits, trees, lakes with anacondas and alligators, villages of all kinds of people, traders and their merchandise, and gardens. Such visions might be warnings of things to come, or information about illness caused by sorcery. Men travel to faraway places and learn about them. These experiences, and the interpretations of them, are practically identical to Sharanahua *nixi pae* taking which Siskind showed to be for 'obtaining knowledge', and very occasionally for curing illness (2 out of 30 sessions she observed). Townsley also made similar observations among the Yaminahua [94]. *Dami* means 'image', 'representation', 'drawing', 'doll' or 'statue', so *dami va-* is literally 'to do or make images'. *Yuxin* also means 'image', but in the sense of 'reflection' or 'photograph', thus denoting a fixed and equal pair, something and its identical opposite; whereas *dami* implies a thing or being which can be transformed.

Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982) were told that mens' use of hallucinogens has another purpose too. When men die, their souls (*yuxin kuin*) must make a difficult and dangerous journey to the land of the dead in the sky. During this journey they encounter demons (*yuxibu*) which try to eat their souls, thus obliterating them. Men take *nixi pae*, their informant said, to prepare themselves for this ultimate journey, to learn skill and courage in interaction with spirit beings.

Thus men learn bravery through taking the drug, a quality that they will also need during their lifetime as hunters, traders and (in the past) warriors. Women do not need this skill, since they neither hunt nor kill. When women die, they are not faced with the same difficulties along the path to heaven, for women die because of kinship whilst men die because of affinity. There is no space to deal with this complicated topic here except briefly. Adult men are said to be 'shot' by the weapon spirit of the mythic being Nawa or Inca (their *chai*, brother-in-law) when they die. Women are not shot by this being; instead, their kin (*nabu*) come to fetch them away to the land of the dead [95]. Thus just as adult men and women are produced through affinal and kinship relations respectively, so male and female death is brought about by affinity on the one hand, and kinship on the other.

This is not surprising, given the qualities that men must acquire and put into action during their productive lives. Men must learn to be strong and fierce at times, to be killers [96]. It is for this reason, I suggest, that women do not take stimulants, because female gender does not require such qualities. Cashinahua women do not smoke, drink, take drugs, nor (in the past) did they use tobacco snuff, or indulge in any of the activities which induce a state of 'drunkeness', of being *paen* [97]. If a woman wished to try one of these stimulants, however, a supernatural sanction would not inevitably result. Women, and many men too, are not strong or brave enough to take these things, (and in any case they do not want to, I was told). I met one Recreio woman who had taken *nixi pae* in order to 'see' her parents, who lived on the Jordão, and whom she had last seen 15 years before.

In a drugged state and in dreams men and women can interact safely with spirits, as long as the boundaries between domains remain. Women, as I have said, in a waking daytime state both attract and repel the physical manifestation of spirits when they menstruate or bleed. Men neither attract nor repel them in this state unless temporarily contaminated with bodily substances, ill or dying. But male shamans do, and in this they are like bleeding women. Women, it seems to me, have a secondary association with fresh blood which reinforces their unsuitability as hunters. It is women who are responsible for the transformation of raw meat into cooked food, who butcher most game, distribute the raw meat to female kin, and cooked meat to male and female kin and visitors. Good cooks cannot, it seems to me, be good hunters. Conversely, good hunters cannot be good cooks. Thus men need female agency if they are to consume the products of their hunting, just as women need male agency if they are to be able to produce a complete meal. If too much of one domain passes into another (if men deal too much in blood, or women too much in the spirit world) then gendered agency is blocked, and men become *yupa*, unlucky in hunting, whilst women loose their ability to make human babies. They might give birth to twins (*yuxin bake*) or deformed monsters. Men destroy possible kinship links with the spirits, whereas women and shamans unwittingly attract them [98]. Women (and good shamans) should protect and engender kinship , but only in the human domain. To do this, like men they must learn how to protect and strengthen their corporeal, cultural, and moral skills. It is because of the opposed but complementary natures of culturally produced male and female agency that the formal training of youths and young women takes the form that it does. The next stage in their young lives will be the real test of the apprenticeship, when marriage forces them to fetch, work, play and make love in earnest.

Section 5 Marriage

Adult marriage is the relationship which sustains the economic system. The Cashinahua conception of marriage emphasizes male-female cooperation and complementarity; assumes a good marriage to be an affectionate and lifelong partnership; and enshrines it as the only relationship which allows men and women to be complete persons. First marriages could be arranged for a child by its parents or elder siblings. In the past a couple were ideally raised together until old enough to marry; or alternatively until the girl reached 10 or 11 years and was deemed old enough to sleep with her elder husband. Even now, there are cases of child-brides, but on the whole the Cashinahua disapprove of this practice nowadays. The girl suffers to much from giving birth at so young an age, they say. Marriages are usually arranged when a girl is about 14 or 15, and a youth between 17 and 25.

The preferred marriage is between actual cross-cousins and a fair number of first marriages are in this category [99]. Marriage is nearly always moiety exogamous. There is a tendency to arrange or approve marriages between a woman and her MB, who falls within the correct moiety category but not the correct generational category. Pre-existing links to affines should be and are constantly reduplicated, both in the same generation and in subsequent generations. In this way, Cashinahua marriage practice resembles marriage practice linked to a Dravidian-type terminology, discussed for example by Overing Kaplan (1975). Such replication of affinal links allows people to marry endogamously within a community and therefore remain with their close kin afterwards. Such is the general ambition of most men and women. Living with kin is considered to be the most harmonious and feasible form of residence. Kin are ideally willing to share with each other, and to avoid conflict or interpersonal coercion. At the same time, 'correct' marriages result in children of the correct category in terms of parents' relationships, grandparents' and names, so that the system can continue in the second descending generation. The Cashinahua say that the purpose of moieties is so that a person may know who his or her children are going to marry.

However, this ideal of close marriage produces a temporary hiccup in kin relations. It leads to behaviour which directly contravenes the non-coercive kin ethic, since at times adolescents are made to marry against their will, as the story below illustrates:

> Subella and Nicolau are cross-cousins (see Appendix 3). Subella's mother is Nicolau's FZ, and her father is his MB. They were married by their parents (Nicolau's F and his Z, Subella's M) as soon as Subella reached first menses. Unusually, it was she who moved in with Nicolau, sharing a hammock with him in his father's house. During the first year I spent in Recreio they never spoke to each other, and only spoke about each other in a derogatory way. From time to time they fought, and she would 'run away' to her mother's house. Then her mother, and father-in-law would join together in lecturing the couple on the need to stay together. They would stress to the sullen pair that they were well suited to each other, there was 'noone else', and that they should stop quarreling and start settling down to married life. This always struck me as strange, since there were at least a dozen unmarried adolescents in nearby Fronteira. The parents preferred to strengthen their in-family

ties, rather than initiate new affinal links. The result of this desire, until a pregnant Subella went home to her mother definitively, was a pair of unhappy teenagers.

This marriage, I should stress, was not typical, because most parents and children seem to find a way for a first marriage to be agreeable to both sides. If it is not agreeable to one of the young spouses, divorce soon results. A few marriages are 'coerced', as in the case of a girl from Murubim who was married to the local Cariú patron. However, such marriages to non-Cashinahua are extremely unusual [100]. In the end, she decided to stay with him, and by 1987 had born him two children.

Marriage is in most cases uxorilocal. In Recreio several of the young grooms had come from Peru to live with their bride's family. Some of these youths were unable to reconcile their longing to be with their own families and subsequently went home. In some cases the bride's distaste for her man leads to his departure. In other cases the marriage takes, and the two teenagers enter into the spirit of their relationship with enthusiasm. They work, hunt and fish with energy if not much skill, and are often to be seen going off together into the forest or the gardens. When relaxing at home, they spend much time flirting and tussling, sharing a daytime hammock, and cracking explicit sexual jokes at each others expense.

The Cashinahua have a style of humour that is markedly sexual. There are several standard jokes which never fail to draw a laugh. They usually refer to male or female productive activities and especially to hunting. For example:

Male Speaker *Xanun! Mabex adive! Jene ichavave.* (Cross-cousin! Drink up the caissuma! Get nice and juicy!)
Female Speaker *En jene ichama min dekeuma en mia axuainmaki!* (I won't get juicy, you are a useless hunter!)

The man, sitting in his hammock drinking caissuma, calls over to his cross-cousin where she is sitting with other women. He speaks in a pleading, joking tone, 'Hey *Xanun*, come drink caissuma! Get nice and juicy!' (Women do not normally share bowls of caissuma with men unless at informal moments). She retorts 'I won't get juicy, you are useless at hunting!', which the listeners find hilarious. In the another typical exchange, a woman demands publically that her husband 'kill a deer' for her, pointing out that she is starving for meat. He replies that he will go out tomorrow, but she should accompany him 'to carry the catch because it will be so heavy'. Again, the innuendo is that sex will result. She retorts *"En kamaki, min yupaki"*, 'I won't go, you are *yupa*' (see above) and the audience roars with laughter. In another case, a man calls his cross-cousin to 'take another banana' from his bunch (*mani betsa bive*) and she replies 'you have no banana' (*min maniumaki*). The couples are 'joking with' each other, *'kaxe'*. This is a skill which adults progressively master, so that old women and men are often the best and loudest jokers. The young are more reticent, tending to blush and keep silent if an older cross-cousin aims a joke at them. Old men sometimes mutter such a joke to their child *xanus*, thus 'teaching them' how to *'kaxe'*. Men also joke, *kaxe*, with their brothers-in-law and male cross-cousins (*chai*) in this way, and women (to a lesser extent) with their sisters-in-law and female cross-cousins (*tsabe*). Such jokes are also centred on heterosexuality.

Despite this humour, the Cashinahua feel that marriage and sex are very serious matters. Adolescents should only have sex within a marital relationship, because sex leads to children, they say. A young woman should not have to bring up children on her own. Because all adolescents have sex, they should be married. However, the adolescents often try to put off the official recognition of a love affair by keeping it secret. They know that unless their affair is 'incestuous' they will be made to marry and therefore begin working harder than a single teenager. The following story is an example of such a marriage:

> I was sleeping in a house in Fronteira, my hammock slung alongside the childrens'. I had left a party in full swing in a neighbour's house. But I was not allowed to sleep in peace. Suddenly a male voice startled me awake, saying 'I am going to sleep with you' (Eu vou deitar com voçe). the drunken youth pushed past my hammock and climbed in with a mildly protesting teenage girl, with whom I later discivered, he had already been making love. The girls young brothers raised a chorus of protest, which eventually woke their father (who was also drunk). Later he told

> me that he would have killed the youth, but did not do so out of respect for me. But the next day he announced that the couple were to marry. By chance the padre of Sena Madureira passed by two days later, and, unaware of the circumstances, consecrated their union.

Marriage is a simple affair. The boy moves his possessions into the girl's house, and begins sleeping in the same hammock with her. She should carry his hammock for him. After the first night they are considered married, a condition which is referred to as 'with husband', *beneya*, or 'with wife' *ainya*. Only some marriages are consecrated by Christian rite, and usually only after several years and the birth of children. A special meeting will be arranged, for the teenage union to be formally set on the right tracks by the adults. Sometimes part of a meeting will be spent on a new marriage and the rest devoted to other matters (see below chapter 4). The couple is called to sit together in the centre of the room, apart from the groups of men and women. Leaders (male and female), parents, and other elder relatives or members of the community then speak, lecturing the couple on their married duties towards each other. This form of speech is standard 'teaching oratory', an aspect of all public speeches [101]. Lectures delivered at first marriage are as follows:

> 'You, Son, must work hard for your wife, and look after her. You must make a garden, build a house, cut rubber and buy the necessities with the proceeds. You must always hunt and and fish provide her with the meat. You, Daughter-in-law, must work hard at home spinning and weaving, cooking and looking after your husband. You must always fetch anioc from the garden, so that their is always food. You must sow and wash the clothes. In this way each of you will be a good spouse'.

Such moralizing discourse is an aspect of all political oratory. Sex and marriage are circumscribed by a particularily strong set of moral values; in a sense, marriage is the most deadly serious business in a person's life, as the following story made clear to me:

> Two adolescents, sisters-in-law to each other, were rumoured to have been making love to a young married man who was *epa* to one (MMBS) and *kuka* to the other (FMBS). The father of one, who was the other's father-in-law, was told the gossip, and he summoned them to him. In a tone of repressed fury, he said "*Achin*! You are my daughter and must listen to me. I always teach you, and you never listen. You must

> respect me. You must not make love with your 'father'. He is your *chichi*'s BS. It's bad, very bad. You must not make love with men, you are not yet married. You are a woman, you must work hard at women's tasks, work hard and listen to your *eva*. Do not go near your uncle again. Thank God, I am a Christian (Baptist), but I am very angry. I could kill him, just like that. So do not go near him, you must work hard and respect me." He then delivered a milder version of the same lecture to his daughter-in-law, Subella (resident in his house, as I described above). Neither girl lifted their voice in reply, but sat sulking instead. When he had finished, his wife spoke in a similar manner, making the same points in a quiet voice. The girls sometimes intervened with their opinion, but mostly sat and listened. The following morning, Subella's mother (the man's half-sister) came to the house (but not Subella's father who was also present in the village) and spoke sternly to the two girl's in the same manner. "You must work hard, listen to me when I teach you, help your mother-in-law, and not make love to any man but my *dais*" she said to her daughter.

As this story shows, both men and women share the same views about marriage, and in all the marriage speeches I heard I did not come across differing male and female views. Women are on the whole more sympathetic to the problems experienced by young women, as the two girls in the story knew. They felt confident enough to interupt their female kin. Nevertheless, mothers will try to persuade reluctant daughters not to divorce their cross-cousins, such is the strength of feeling about the correctness of such marriages [102].

Marriage is described as consisting of a set of duties that each spouse owes the other. It is the only proper place for sex. In the past people were more relaxed about love affairs, and nowadays the utmost secrecy should be maintained. Worse than a discovered affair, is a discovered incestuous affair, as the story suggests. The girl who made love to her 'father' (her MMBS), was far more severely reprimanded by male and female speakers than her sister-in-law, who had made love to her *kuka*, an member of the opposite moiety and (as I have shown) potentially marriagiable. Her only real crime had been adultery.

Despite this moralistic attitude to category-correct sex and marriage, when all is said and done, the Cashinahua feel, the important thing is how a marriage itself is conducted. Even if, for some reason, people of the wrong category marry, the mistake will be 'forgotten' with time. My misunderstanding of marriage was corrected (somewhat testily) by a Baptist from Balta, as follows:

> People get married wrong (*chaka*). Someone created an Inu marries the same kind of woman (ie an Inani); or likewise a Duabake (marries a Banu). When such a wrong marriage is made, they always mess up the naming (*bake dabi chaka va*). But they go ahead and give it a name anyway, even when they marry wrong. That is how God ordered it should happen. Since the first days of creation, people have married wrong. They still do it.
>
> (ME) Is it bad?
>
> No, no, it's not bad, it's good! That's the way it is. God made it like that since Adam and Eve. Living, living..... Look, an intelligent man doesn't marry the wrong kind of woman. He marries his true wife (*ain kayabi*) and he always stays married to her. An intelligent man, one with knowledge, that is how they procreate (*ba*). Marrying one's true wife, and marrying one's wrong wife (*ainya chaka*) are both done in the same way. treating her well, looking after her, not abandoning her and moving on to another woman, like the ancestors did. A stupid man, and there are many stil about, will treat her badly, and hunt wrong, work wrong, make love wrong.....[103]

In the next chapter I discuss the duties of husband and wife, of adult men and women, to which the informant refers. These activities form the real substance of the relationship, whatever the categorical position of each spouse before marriage. Marriage is primarily a productive relationship. Couples are concerned with the creation of life as parents, as grandparents and as members of a community of kinspeople. The opposition between male and female as it is expressed within the relationship of marriage underlies the ability a couple has to produce. Couples who are successfully married call to each other using the term *Ba*, which is devoid of kinship connotations. Couples who have grown together into a good marriage, show their friendly affection for each other by the use of the term *Ba*. Its use brings to attention the ideal distance between man and woman, suggesting that they are like friendly strangers, thus overlaying their sharing of common kindreds with a kind of lie. The moieties also work in this way, serving to delineate affinal distinctions within the circle of *nabu kuin*. It is very appropriate, then, that men call their wives' brothers *chai*, for this term also means 'far away' when used as an adjective.

It is tempting to think that the term *Ba* ('spouse') is derived from the verb *ba-*, 'to be born; to get created; to be cooked', since the marriage relationship is the most creative and economically productive one known to the Cashinahua. In the next chapter I discuss how this works both in theory and in practice.

CHAPTER 3: PRODUCING SOCIALITY

Descola (1986) argues that studies of the economies of Lowland South America tend to take one of two opposed lines. Whilst some represent nature as a mere object of thought, "good for thinking" in the manner of Lévi-Strauss, others seek to explain culture as an epiphenomenon of nature. Descola labels the former "symbolic morphologists" and the latter "ecological reductionists" [1]. His own excellent study (op cit) looks at "the relations between man and his environment from the perspective of the dynamic interactions between techniques of socialization of nature and the symbolic systems which organize them" [2]. Gow (1988) similarly relates practice to conceptualization, although unlike Descola his is a processual rather than a structuralist perspective [3]. In this chapter I discuss economic organization in this way.

In Section (1) I discuss Cashinahua concepts of space and of the beings which inhabit it, with whom they interact in order to be able to produce. Section (2) describes processes of production according to gender differentiation. This section is intended as a sketch of the economy, which combines 'subsistence' production with commodity production (see Figures 16-19) [4]. I describe the activities which characterize people's daily lives, showing how the male and female domains are differentiated and interlocked. I argue that each domain is based upon differing relations of production with the beings and things of the world described in Section (1). Male and female 'relations of production' are circumscribed by the conception of acquired male and female agency which I described in the last chapter. I argue that the relation between these gendered relations of production lies beneath the dynamics of social and economic life (and the section includes a critique of 'brideservice analyses') [5]. Section (3) returns to the subject of personhood in more detail, in a discussion of ownership and labour - of how things come to be 'owned' by single persons via their own productive activities and those of their coresident kin and affines. I show how contrasting modes of appropriation and therefore of ownership are linked to the gender.

FIGURE 16: DRY SEASON WORK

TIME	ACTIVITY	WORK CONFIGURATION*
April	Clearing scrub off beaches riverbanks	SmGrp/M+F
April-May	Planting peanuts on cleared riverbanks	Cl/M+F
May-June	Planting watermelon, beans, squash, and sometimes corn on cleared riverbanks and beaches	SmGrp/M+F
April-June	Marking out new ridge gardens	SmGrp/M or S/M
	Clearing rubber paths	Cl/M, SmGrp/M, S/M
	Scraping rubber trees	S/M
May-January	Rubber tapping	S/M
July	Making new wells	S/M
June-August	Felling forest for ridge gardens	Cl/M
	Clearing demarcation paths around Indian territory	Cl/M
September	Burning ridge gardens	SmGrp/M
Sep.-October	Planting ridge gardens with sweet manioc and corn; also banana, plantain, papaya, rice, fish-poison, yam, sweet potato, cotton, squash	SmGrp/M
October	Peanut Harvest	Cl/F
November	Peanut storage	S/M

---

* The abbreviations indicate the most common work configurations: SmGrp=small group; Cl=collective; S=alone; M=male; F=female

NOTE: Individual production ('S') does not preclude the possibilty that the work be carried out in pairs, with one person helping the main worker.

FIGURE 17: WET SEASON WORK

TIME	ACTIVITY	WORK CONFIGURATION*
Nov.-March	Housebuilding/Canoe Construction	SmGrp/M
December	Green corn harvest	Cl/F
January-March	Dry corn harvest	Cl/M+F, M or F
February-March	Corn storage	S/M
	Winter peanut harvest	Cl/M+F
	Peanut storage	S/M

---

* The abbreviations indicate the most common work configurations: SmGrp=small group; Cl=collective; S=alone; M=male; F=female

NOTE: Individual production ('S') does not preclude the possibilty that the work be carried out in pairs, with one person helping the main worker.

FIGURE 18: PERENNIAL PRODUCTION

MALE	WORK CONFIGURATION
Clearing scrub from gardens, paths, village	Cl
Fishing with nets	SmGrp
Hunting	S
Fishing with nets	S
Butchering large game	S
Making artefacts and tools	S
Maintaining house and patio	S
Making and fetching firewood	S
FEMALE	
Harvesting manioc and banana	Cl
Washing clothes	SmGrp
Cooking	S
Butchering small game	S
Distributing meat/fish	S
Gutting fish at home	S
Cleaning house	S
Cotton work	S
Making baskets, mats	S
Sowing	S
Washing clothes	S
Childcare	S
Carrying water	S
MALE AND FEMALE	
Making farinha	
Planting sugarcane	

FIGURE 19: STANDARD CONFIGURATIONS FOR SEASONAL/PERENNIAL PRODUCTION BY ACTIVITY AND ACCORDING TO SEX

(1) Collective

(a) seasonal

Male
Clearing rubber paths
Felling forest for ridge garden
Clearing territory boundary paths
Housebuilding (heavy tasks)
Male and Female
Planting peanuts in riverbank gardens
Harvesting dry corn
Harvesting winter peanuts
Fishing with poison

Female
Peanut harvest
Fresh corn harvest

(b) perennial

Male
Clearing scrub from paths, gardens and village

Female
Harvesting manioc/banana

(2) Small Group

(a) seasonal

Male
Burning ridge garden
Planting ridge garden
Housebuilding (all tasks)
Marking out ridge gardens
Clearing rubber paths
Felling forest for ridge gardens
Burning ridge garden
planting ridge garden
housebuilding
Male and Female
weeding riverbank garden
planting watermelon, beans, squash in riverbank garden
gathering
fishing with poison

Female
harvesting manioc/banana
fishing

(b) perennial

Male
fishing with nets
Male and Female
making farinha
planting sugarcane

Female
washing clothes

(3) Individual Production

(a) seasonal

Male
Marking out ridge gardens
scraping rubber trees
rubber tapping
making/repairing wells
peanut and corn storage

Female

(b) perennial

Male
hunting
fishing with nets
butchering large game
making artefacts and tools
maintaining house and patio
making and fetching firewood

Female
cooking
butchering small game
distributing meat/fish
gutting fish
cleaning house
cotton work
making baskets, mats
sowing
washing clothes
childcare
carrying water

distinction in terms of labour processes. I also show in this section that the Cashinahua notion of personhood assumes an integrity of self, such that things can never come to stand for persons. In Section (4) both these points are linked to an analysis of distribution and consumption. I examine the nature of Cashinahua prestations and of their concept of generosity. For them, I argue, social prestations that form kinship contrast with exchange transactions, which should take place outside the social domain. The chapter ends with a discussion of such sociality-constructing prestations, and in particular of the distribution and consumption of food, leaving the discussion of 'exchange' to the following chapter. I conclude that consumption of gender-linked foods in formal meals stands for the process of manufacturing community.

In this chapter I shall argue that the symbolic elaboration of gender differentiation stresses its productive power. Although much of a Cashinahua person's life is spent working, eating, resting together with her or his own sex, everything that is done is only made possible by, and makes possible, the complementary work or production of an opposite sex partner. Relations of production between 'real people', between people and spirits or foreigners are different for men and women, but ultimately the product is the same - the living community of kin. Social and economic production is made possible by male agency in dealing directly with the spirits and foreigners; and by female agency in mediating the transformation of the products of such encounters. Women control the circulation of food between houses and between settlements. They control the cooking of food and its transformation from poisonous to nourishing. Similarily, they transform babies from dangerous body substance to prototype human being. Men, in contrast, fetch things from afar. They bring back game and fish, manufactured items from the city and foreign knowledge such as the ability to read and write. The husband-wife relationship of cooperation and demand is pivotal in all these processes.

I wish to introduce the discussion of economic organization by quoting from an interview. I asked Elias, a resident of Recreio, to tell me how the 'old ones' (*xenipabu*) hunted and to compare their ways with modern practice. He began by telling me how young men had had to kill a boa constrictor and absorb its essence by eating its tongue. Subsequently they had to undergo a ritual diet, lasting a month, during which they abstained from meat. After this, they would slowly begin to eat all kinds of meat again [6]. Then, continued Elias:

> 'They would hunt for a peccary and once it was killed they took it home and gave it to their wife and fed their children and their parents. Then they would work the day through, and another day, three in all, and then they would go again. They say that this time they would kill a deer. That is the way to become *menki*, a good hunter.
>
> To make one have the quality of a hard worker– to be *dayakapa* - is done in the same way; once the knowledge has been acquired and you have already killed game, you go off to work. Having done this and made a garden and burnt it, you can begin to plant. The first thing to plant is banana and then next to this, manioc. Then you must weed. One cannot get vegetables in the middle of overgrowth and mess. If you try to harvest in that sort of situation, snakes always bite you. That is the way to do it, that is the way our *xenipabu* ('ancestors') have always done it, working that is.
>
> When you diet, you can work, and when the work has been done, all through one day, on the next you can go hunting, so that our relatives may eat. But you may not eat yourself, until a month has passed. When you begin to eat again, "swallowing the snake", you start by hunting a rat (*maka*), and once that has been done, it is proper to kill big game, deer and peccary [7].
>
> Giant Snake, the big boa, is a skilled hunter. A skilled hunter and at the same time you work (sic). Working, you become a hard worker. Once you have touched a snake you draw out work, the quality of a hard worker. In exactly the same way you become a skilled hunter, a *menki* hunter. That is how they all do it, our old ones, that is what they do. God, whom we call *Diusun*, gave them this order in those ancient times, he ordered them:
>
>> "This one having been made skillful shall be transformed into a hard worker. This one having been made skilful shall by these means be enabled with the ability to successfully shoot game for evermore".
>
> After he did this, it was done everywhere by our forebears, who first acquired the knowledge and then went hunting. This done, everywhere they were always able to eat' [8].

Elias believes in these old-fashioned values. A man hunts one day, and on the next he works hard in his garden. In this way he can feed his family. The essence of a good and proper man is one who is *menki*, a skilled hunter, and at the same time *dayakapa*, a hard worker. Male work is characterized by hard physical labour. It is closely linked with the ability to hunt successfully, and indeed the knowledge to do one thing is acquired at the same time as the knowledge to do the other. A man should live his days in a cycle of *daya*, work, and *yuinaka tsakai*, hunting, balancing one activity against the other, creating vegetables for his wife to harvest and bringing back game from the forest for her to cook. This is the way that a proper man feeds his kin. [9]

Such a prodigy is likely to become a leader. A true leader, *xanen ibu*, as opposed to chantleader leader, *chana xanen ibu*, is characterized by his ability to feed his people [10]. Daily he calls out to the men to come and eat in his house, and his wife, who is the leader of the women, calls out to them likewise. In Elias' words:

> 'Men used to leave at dawn without eating in order to go hunting. Once they had woken up they would set out after the game animals - Peccary, armadillo, deer, jungle turkey, spider monkey, howler monkey. If they killed a tapir they would leave it there whole, come home, return to bring it back (with help) and only then they would drink caissuma and sweet plantain drink, and finally eat boiled manioc and banana; having set out hungry and come back hungry, hunting.
>
> When we return home from such an expedition, we may not eat alone. The way to eat is to call to each other. Calling is like this: we call to our elder brother, we call to our mother's brother, we call to our father, we call to our brother-in-law. Calling, by ritualized shouting: "Heeeiii! Come together that we may eat! *Pinun bukanven*! Heeeeiiii!" In this way you could become a leader. Feeding people is becoming a leader, whereas a miserly man, who eats alone, can never become a leader, a *xanen ibu*. That is how our old ones used to become leaders, that is how it was done everywhere. Those leaders were *menki*, good hunters. There was another kind of leader, ones who knew powerful prayers, ('*deveya*'), and we call them *Chana* leaders.
>
> People who knew no chants could be leaders too, by feeding people (as I have described). "Come together to this place that we may eat!" they used to say and they would come from far, from very far, and they would come walking from a distant place to visit us, and it would be impossible to be sad. "Cho! Come here beside me, quickly! " and they would be happy and in high spirits. Once they have thus been invited in (with the stylized greeting) we tell our wife "Hurry! Our so-and-so has

> arrived! Quickly give them food!" The way to eat properly is to serve manioc, and green banana, and meat, to them, and listen to them, and talk to them. That is the way it was done in the old days, by the ancient ones.
>
> They used to have two and three leaders in a single village, among our ancestors who lived in the highwaters, on the high ground. One would be a *Chana* leader, one would be a leader who worked hard and hunted well, called a Real leader, a *xanen ibu kaya*; one who sat at the centre.
>
> Men were not the only leaders. Women were also leaders. Here (i.e. in Recreio), noone has become a leader yet, among the women. There isn't one. There is always a male leader. Amongst our forebears who lived up there in the headwater region the leader's wife would become a leader, and she would make them get food reciprocally. She would call: "Let us go together (to the garden) and get food! Younger sister! Sister-in-law! Paternal Aunt! Mother! Elder Sister! Let us set out to fetch food! For our husbands have gone far (out hunting in the forest), so let us all go now!"When she had said this, and they had gone and brought back the food, they used to cook. And at dawn as well they would call to each other, our ancestors, and they would eat [11].

Elias was talking about the past, yet he was also describing the present. His brother Pancho, *xanen ibu* of Recreio, invariably begins the day by calling out the formal invitation to all men to eat with him, the drawn out ritual shout echoing across the village. Such a call contrasts with the silent signals and almost inaudible invitations that lesser people send across the cleared ground between each house, when they have something to share. In the evenings, if there is anything to eat in his house, or if he is in a buoyant mood, he will call out again:

> 'Brother! Father! Uncle! Come all of you and eat! Let us drink caissuma and eat manioc!'

It is a sign of social vitality when all the men commonly eat together at least once a day. When they come, Pancho's wife plays the part of female leader, serving her food to her male guests. Yet all men and women are thought of as being 'leaders' when they are able to extend such hospitality. The notion 'leader' is a summation and intensification of the notion of adult person. A fine man should be able to feed all those with whom he lives and works; and a fine woman likewise. Neither can behave as leader without the other's help. How each arrives at the position to be able to help his or her spouse, and how this male-female cooperation is the basis of community, in the subject of this chapter [12].

Section 1: Cashinahua Conceptions of Space:the World and its Inhabitants

The Cashinahua think of the world around them as a source of things which they desire. From the forest comes game, wild fruits and nuts, medicines, drugs and decorations, and the raw materials which they use to make all kinds of tools and houses. From the river comes fish and water. From the city comes manufactured goods, exotic foods, fuel and other consumables, and the raw materials needed for making various tools, clothes, and mosquito nets. These different spaces are the arenas of different forms of predation and exchange. The spaces are inhabited by a variety of beings with whom the Cashinahua interact in order to obtain the things that they desire. In this section I will examine the shape of this inhabited world, the properties of its inhabitants, and the form interaction with them takes. I argue that the Cashinahua conceive of the relationship with the 'outside' world as one of male affinity [13]. In contrast, male-female affinity is for them characteristic of the 'inside' (which ideally is consituted in terms of sociality. Finally, women at times stand for kinship and against male affinity, as symbols of the 'inside'.

Inside and Outside

The social world begins at home, in the *mae* (cleared settlement). This is the locus of humanity, of 'true people', *juni kuin*, and true kin, *nabu kuin*. These people, the Cashinahua with whom one lives, are the most human of human beings; and the relations between them define and create sociality. Inside the *mae*, or cleared settlement, stand the different houses, at its centre the leaders' house, and all around the gardens. It is this space, the settlement, that stands for the concept which I term "the inside". At the core of this idea are the linked Cashinahua concepts of kinship and humanity. Proper behaviour towards kin is behaviour which defines what it is to be human. The 'inside' is thus the space where kinship and humanity are locked together.

The Cashinahua think of people in terms of a continuum of humanity. They themselves stand as the extreme example of true human beings (*juni kuin*) whilst wild Indians or Nawas stand at the other end. I shall use the term "outside" to refer to a number of different regions and spaces, inhabited by other humans, and also animals and spirits, which are contrasted to the domain of the *juni kuin*. These include the forest, rivers and lakes, the headwater regions, and the downriver regions including cities. Also linked to the spatial concept of "outside" is the land of the dead.

I do not offer a graphic representation of these spaces. The Cashinahua themselves would not offer such a hard and fast image of the cosmos, which is not conceived as absolute or fixed. There is considerable individual variation. People also express doubt about their own understanding of the nature of the cosmos, but all opinions are strongly coloured by traditional cosmology [14]. But the basic conceptual opposition "inside/outside" is powerful in all views. The spatial opposition is linked to a temporal one between eternal and linear time. The former is the time zone of the dead, the latter of the living. Eternal time is a simultaneous aspect of all things, places and people, manifest in their 'souls' (see above); but it also has its proper separate place above and below the earth. Mythic time and eternal time are different. During mythic time there was a conjunction of the world - now the place of linear time - and mortal beings with eternal time and space. The present world with all its being and things, was created in mythic time [15]. History began when immortality was lost to the beings of the earth, and the eternal (spirits, Gods, demons) were spatially and visually separated from the mortal (animals, plants and people). Linear time is therefore characteristic of history, which takes place in the context of mortality, process and change. The 'inside' takes place in linear time, separate from the mythic time of the 'old ones'. For the Cashinahua history and linear time are closely associated with the river'.

The headwater regions are the home of 'wild Indians' (brabos) who are said to be like the savage ancestors of the living Cashinahua. The downriver regions are the home of the Whites and of city people. They are associated with the future, with progress as well as with danger. These places along the river symbolize the Cashinahua understanding of their own place in linear time. Thus the 'inside' is at the centre of the linear time as represented by the river, as well as at the end of mythic time.

In traditional cosmology (in myth) the river is linked to the conceptual opposition between inside and outside, living and dead, mortality and immortality. At the beginning and end of the river lie the passages to the afterlife. The beginning of the river is a land of huge slopes and mountains (although few Cashinahua have ever seen a real mountain). At the end of the river the 'root of the sky', pictured as a vast tree, leads up into heaven [16]. Heaven, the land of the dead, is the domain of immortality. It is the sky seen from below, a world in itself, with forests, rivers and villages to the spirits of the dead. It may be reached along the rainbow. The land of the dead may also be reached through holes in the ground which lead to the underworld or 'hell' - closely associated with the deep pools of the river. As well as the dead, various mythic ancestors *(xenipabu)* live in the sky, seen from below as stars and as the moon. Beneath the sky is the layer of the clouds, and then a realm of "pure wind". The next level of the cosmos is the earth, and beneath it is "pure water/river" [17]. This cosmos, as in many other cases throughout Amazonia, links together space and time in a fluid fashion [18]. Far away places are the home of mythic characters, the dead, and the disembodied. The far reaches of this earth are the first stages of another cosmic level and the beginning of an opposed temporal domain. These ideas about the cosmos colour every Cashinahua's understanding of the world.

The spatial and temporal opposition between 'inside' and 'outside' underlies indigenous conceptions of social organization and process. These ideas are strongly linked to economic practice, since the inside is a place which must always be constructed by human workers. The inside is created from the outside in a process which never ends. It is not understood as a cultural niche carved out of a hostile, meaningless and natural space, creation in a wilderness [19]. Rather, it is the outside transformed. The outside itself is thought of as the outward manifestation of other 'insides', the male face of other social domains, but these do not interest the Cashinahua for themselves, as I shall show. It is the products of these domains that interest them, in their pursuit of the progress proper to their own social world. Entry into other realms, other societies or cultures, is of far less significance than the transformation of the products of those cultures into Cashinahua products, and people.

The Inhabitants of the Outside

Each kind of being in forest, river, and city, has peculiar characteristics, and inhabits particular spaces. The Cashinahua distinguish several main categories of beings - human, animal, plant - which inhabit the living world; and several which inhabit the immortal world- demon and spirit. The interdependence of these two worlds is reflected in the dual nature of living beings. Every material thing, living and inert, both is itself and something other too. People are just people, but they are simultaneously spirit. Trees are just trees, but they are also sometimes the villages of spirits. Animals in one being's perception are fair prey; in another's they are human, and as such untouchable, as I shall describe.

The inside stands within the world of the living and apart from the world of the dead, within mortal and linear time, and outside of immortal time. The waking state (from the point-of-view of living people) is the domain of conscious action, the dream state of unconscious action. Unlike the Araweté, the Cashinahua prefer to keep these worlds separate, even though on certain ritual occasions controlled contact is necessary, as in *nixpo pima*. However, the dead and spirits (*yuxin*) who inhabit immortal time should ordinarily be avoided at all cost. In normal times, the living interact with people and animals of this earth, on this level of the cosmos, in search of food and goods (the goal of most visits to the outside). People travel to the forest, the river, and (to a lesser extent) the city, for these things. Such journeys are a normal aspect of every man's waking life.

During sleep people travel to the other realms of the outside. That which in a waking state appears as normal phenomena such as trees or animals, river water or clouds, in a dream state can be seen as spirit houses, as spirits in human form, as solid earth. Such visions may also be induced by drugs, or suffered in illness.; and this vision becomes the 'reality' of the dead. Those who have nearly died can describe their journeys to these other layers of the cosmos; and the souls of the living can visit the dead during sleep, and see how they live culturally just as the living Cashinahua do here on earth. They are seen as having horticulture, hunting, cooking, affinity, kinship , intelligible language, sex, the full gamut of civilized activities that characterize the living [20].

In the waking state such civilization is absent. Not one of the species of animal, human, or spirit achieve the degree of culture that the Cashinahua consider properly human. People are unafraid when they go out into the forest or river, precisely because their own superior culture gives them insuperable powers over other species. The can even defend themselves even against the attack of powerful wild beasts like jaguars. If they were to slip into a dream state (being take ill for example)- they would enter immortal time and space, thereby becoming visible to the denizens of the dream world (the spirits, demons, and the dead). Then they would loose the advantage of their superiority. But such a slipping from one reality to another is unusual, and men daily walk out into the forest, or set off on river trips without fear, confident in their ability to deal with who or what they might meet. They know that the various kinds of forest and river spirits will not trouble them, as long as they remain mutually invisible. The only kind of being they expect to come across in the deep forest where spirits live are the animals, bicho.

Birds, animals and fish are bicho. They are inarticulate in human company, but able to communicate amongst themselves in a language that human hunters can imitate [21]. In Cashinahua there is no single term for all bicho creatures, and my informants found it convenient to contrast this Portuguese term to such notions as 'human' [22]. The term for'human' is *juni* or gente. Beings of "human" nature include both Indians (*juni kuin*) like the Cashinahua, and Nawa like the Cariú. At the same time, Nawa is opposed to 'human', since true humanity is the province of the Cashinahua alone. One informant, when asked to list all the humans, included all the animals which once were human in mythic time (such as the white capuchin monkey or *abu xinu*). He paused to consider all the myths he knew. These animals are now considered both spirits (*yuxin*) and 'humans' - but only human on this earth by origin, and only now 'human' as spirits in the dream world. Their human nature would only be apparent to a person in a 'dream state', who has left the 'inside' to travel to other realms.

The category *yuxin* (spirit) is opposed to that of *juni* (person) in the waking world; but assimilated to it in the dream world. Yet living persons do encounter spirits, in the village at night, in the gardens and forest even by day. Most encounters with spirits are with the generic category *yuxin*, ghostly beings of human form who are more or less dangerous depending upon the circumstances of the encounter. There is some case for arguing that forest spirits in general are the anonymous ghosts of the dead, the *yuda yuxin*, body spirits [23]. The forest is the abode of that aspect of the dead which might be visible or at least audible to the living in ordinary states of consciousness, the body spirit or shadow (*yuda bake*). The living and the dead, ordinarily apart, may under unusual circumstances, be brought together within one space and time zone. Such conjunction is always unpleasant and sometimes dangerous. In a similar vein, there is some conflation between foreigners and spirits in Cashinahua thinking [24].

Yuxin are distinct from monsters or demons, the *yuxibu*. Yuxibu are the devils of this earth, are fierce and powerful and have an appetite for human souls. They appear as animals (such as macaws) or as monsters. They live deep in the lakes and river pools, or high in the trees [25]. Like the *yuxin/juni* opposition, the *yuxibu/yuxin* opposition is dependent on context. The boundaries of the categories can shift but, like the animals which are called 'spirits', these demon animals only appear in demon form when the physical and mental state of the human observer allows for this. Normally, they too are 'just animals', só bicho'.

The relation between spirits, animals and humans has not been made clear in the literature. Kensinger (1981) says that the Cashinahua cosmos contains 3 basic categories: spirit, people, nature. People and spirits have rights of usufruct over nature and the animals are divided between them. The principle domain of people is the village and gardens; that of the spirits the deep forest (1981:163). Whilst Kensinger says that some animals 'belong' to the Spirits and some to people, Deshayes and Keifenheim believe that all animals are the proper prey of spirits as well as of people. All animals, they say, have both body and soul, but more or less depending on their species. "Men" hunt them to eat their bodies, whereas spirits hunt them to eat their souls [26]. However, all agree that there is a division of spoils between human and spirit, an avoidance rather than a conjunction; and my own evidence would corroborate this.

Cashinahua hunting requires an avoidance of spirits in the forest or along the river. Direct interaction with *yuxibu* or *yuxin* is devastating to a man's hunting skills [27]. Thus shamans would be the worst hunters. The shaman (*yuxian*) is no longer able to make the distinction between inside and outside that is necessary for predation. He (or in some cases she) sees what should properly be the outside as 'inside', as a human world, one of social communication, friendship [28]. The idiom of affinity, in this breakdown between orders, is extended to its logical conclusion, and the animals are no longer affines but rather affinal kin, like the shamans own human *chais*. This association between breakdown of the separation between domains and the 'realization' of affinity in sex outside of the human world is echoed in many myths [29].

The relationship between inside and outside is properly one of male affinity. Outsiders are *chais*, brother-in-law; female outsiders are rarely designated affines, however. Such a designation would be detrimental to the integrity the 'inside', because women, in this set of oppositions, stand for kinship and integration into the inside. As potential wives, female foreigners would take men away from the Cashinahua, and transform them into foreign 'insiders'. By keeping affinity male, the Cashinahua protect the boundaries of their own sociality, and yet aquire the things that they need from outside to reproduce their own social life.

Cashinahua social organization ensures this protection through endogamy. In ritual, as I shall show in the last chapter, the male aspect of affinal relations with the forest spirits is stressed as a prelude to the integration of human outsiders (represented by opposed moieties) into the inside. In hunting, men might well employ seductive techniques to lure game animals and birds to them, as has been well described elsewhere [30]. But then the hunter acts in a manner opposed to seduction, friendship and sociality by killing the animal. Male affinity is two-faced: either a man can end by cohabiting with his brother-in-law and loving his sister, or he can kill him. Relations between humans always contain the possibility of affinity fulfilled in heterosexual activity and kinship. But equally, human beings are always dangerous, always potential enemies and, like game animals, might become the object of male violence.

Section 2: Production

In this section I discuss the construction of the inside through adult productive activities. The crux of the productive process is the complementary relationship between male and female domains of action. Each domain has a differing relationship with the spaces and beings discussed in the previous section, which I here set out in some detail. I also outline the principle differences between male and female relations of production within each domain, with other men and other women respectively. I show how men cooperate with each other in collective activities that have no immediate, tangible product, in a limited system of labour reciprocity. Women also cooperate, but their labour usually results in immediate products which are appropriated by individual persons. Female collective production is therefore not characterized by labour reciprocity. Instead, it symbolically elaborates the role of female work as a key element in the production of sociality. Men's work enables women to harvest and make personally owned products; semi-ceremonial collective women's work celebrates the social nature of female production. Women's production is constitutive of sociality because women are responsible for the distribution and transformation of male and female products (game and vegetable food) within the inside, between kin - a process which I shall discuss in Section (4). The production of sociality entails a process which moves through male and female stages of production and linked appropriation of products, through to a stage of female distribution. All activities at all stages are conceived by the Cashinahua as constructive of sociality. Whilst the social relations which production involves are complex, the dynamic of the economic process is provided by the male-female relationship. This relationship lies at the centre of the inside. It is symbolized in the meal, as I will argue in the final section of the chapter.

Personal responsibilities for mutual kin and coresident affines provide the moral motivation of production. The Cashinahua term for 'making oneself responsible for a person' is *dua va*, which also means 'to help, to satisfy a desire, to treat well, to look after, to domesticate'. Thus a person might say:

> *Ea dua vamiski, atsa inankinan, mabex amakinan, piti betsa betsapa ea pimakinan*
>
> She always spoils me, giving me manioc, drinks, and feeding me all kinds of food.

The term *dua va* sums up the way that kin should treat each other, and implies not only generosity and kindness, but also a notion of service, of response to legitimate desire. Non-kin, like the Yaminahua, do not deserve any kindness unless they are in a position to act as if they were real kin. Need is legitimated by kinship. Treating someone well is tantamount to making them kin. The highly valued quality of being *duapa*, generous and kind, the opposite of miserly, *yauxi*, is etymologically related to *dua va*, and indeed kin are expected to be generous to each other, and miserly towards strangers. It should be noted that the same term 'to look after'/ 'to act as responsible for' also means 'to domesticate the young of wild animals'. This conflation of meanings indicates the active nature of the term. Feeding well and looking after is a process which makes someone or some animal closer, more like oneself, kin. The same transformation can also be performed upon strangers, and in fact all welcome visitors are treated with generosity, as I will describe. For now it should be remembered that in a sense all work leads to domestication, and all domestication makes kin. Personal responsibility for one's kin is therefore behind the responsibilty to produce which adolescents are taught to respect.

Work, *daya*, is distinguished from fetching activities such as hunting. *Daya* involves either back-breaking sweaty tasks like digging in the garden, or finicky but demanding tasks such as cotton work. The idea of *daya* suggests repetitive physical effort and patience. All people are expected to have the skills required to work. The knowledge and corporeal ability to perform all productive activities, work and otherwise, is acquired rather than innate (see chapter 2). People need strong and healthy bodies in order to be able to work. The product of most work - food - is the substance which sustains life and promotes growth. However the wear and tear of daily toil is thought to progressively weaken a person's body year after year, so that in the end old age and finally death result. Everybody is capable of strength, but men are thought to be stronger than women.

Whereas women's work centres on the house, men's work is more generally located outside the house. Men maintain the space within which their women work, and bring back forest products for them to process. Men confront the forest directly in the creation and maintenance of domestic space. They make and weed gardens, slash paths through village and forest, dig wells, and construct houses. Whereas women's work is basically the same the year round, men change activities depending on the season. Even so, the kind of work both sexes do remains constant, with male work being seen as physically more exhausting (which it is) and female work as essentially repetitive.

Men's Work

Early each morning, just after dawn when people are still lazing in their hammocks or emerging to sit blinking on the verandas of their houses, women take down their cotton to beat, and diligent men take up their hoes and weed the terreiros or cleared ground around their houses. A conscientious worker can be told by the impeccable state of his terreiro, its boundary marked by a neat ridge of earth and dried weeds that he has scraped off the surface. This provides space for the house's chickens to feed themselves. Occasionally, a woman will take a brush to the ground to clear up the debris that accumulates there; but she will only weed if her husband is too lazy or ill to do so. Other men, especially the young and strong, take up their axes and set off in search of firewood, if there is none left for kindling of the morning fire. As the sun rises the sound of the beating of cotton is replaced by the thud of axe against log, and the women put away their baskets and begin the task of making breakfast. After the meal, whilst the women pick up their weaving, or set out to the gardens, men turn to any number of pre-arranged activities, often part of an all-male work group. On some days men stay at home to work on small tasks, such as making tools [31].

Men also make houses. House construction can be carried out by one man alone, in which case it takes at least several months. Other men help in certain tasks that require at least two workers, such as carrying the lengths of paxiuba (a tough palm wood) used for the floor. Houses are built in the Cariú style, but tend to be larger and with fewer walls. Older houses nearly always have the sleeping room partitioned off, and a clay hearth in the kitchen area [32]. A properly furnished house with a clay hearth and kitchen has shelves in the kitchen area, usually boards suspended by fibres from the roof. Platforms are built up from the ground at the edge of the kitchen area. These girau are an important feature of Cariú houses, and of some Cashinahua houses. They serve a variety of purposes, such as washing up stands, storage areas, and sunning platforms for seeded cotton, salted fish and so on. Men say that they build these kitchens for their wives, and they are regarded as primarily female spaces. Houses too are built for a man's wife; but like gardens neither house nor kitchen is clearly owned by the woman or the man. The owner "changes" according to context.

Men usually arrange cooperative work days for achieving the main tasks of house construction, fetching the poles, or the thatching, and putting up the frame and the roof. This form of communal work is also organized for many other of the heavy jobs that men do; clearing an estrada, rubber path, or an over grown garden; deforestation; canoe-burning. These are all tasks that many perform on behalf of one man, in his name. This collective labour without immediate product or benefit to the man's helpers is typical of the organization of male work. The 'owner' of the house or garden is responsible, on these occasions, for feeding the work-party, and ideally should make a large kill a few days before the work is to be done. Alternatively, he may persuade his wife to make corn caissuma or manioc beer, masato (see Appendix 5). The couple cooperate in providing the work food. People expect to be fed beforehand, so often the sun is high before they set to work. However in the summer, when there is much heavy work to be done, such formalities might be dispensed with. Those men who are not planning to make gardens also participate in the meal and the work. The collective meal is not considered as a payment for the work. This is illustrated by the following story:

> Once Francisco bought a domestic pig and had it killed the evening before a projected day's work in his garden. His wife rose early to begin preparing it, despite a heavy rainfall. The entire village ate their share, but as the rain never let up, noone went to work and the garden remained unweeded.

Although Francisco had intended the meal as work food, *daya piti*, the villagers saw no obligation or debt in its consumption.

Most collective male labour takes place during the dry season (April-October). Any adult married man can initiate a collective work party for his own benefit. Between the months of April and October the beaches are planted with peanuts and watermelon; new ridge gardens are cut and planted; the estradas (rubber paths) are cleared and prepared for the summer season of tapping, and in recent years the paths demarcating Indian land have been cleared during these months (see chart above).

During May men begin to clear the estradas. Groups ideally go out several times a week until they are all cleared. It should be possible to start rubber tapping and caucho felling at this time. During the same period men go in smaller groups to clear light undergrowth at places chosen for new ridge gardens or *bai*. The larger trees are felled by a collective work party, if possible, between July and September, and left a few weeks or preferably longer to dry out before being burnt. In the past, *pakadin*, a form of chanting, was performed for the felling of big trees, which are believed to be *yuxibu* demons and the homes of spirits. such chanting was also necessary during the burning of the new garden [33]. If the burning does not go well then a further week must be spent burning off the stumps and branches which did not catch (coivara), so as to leave the ground fit for planting, before the arrival of the first rains in about October.

Planting the new ridge gardens is the responsibility of men [34]. Manioc is planted mixed with corn as the main crops, but a variety of other vegetables and fruit are also considered important - sweet potato, papaya, banana, *yusu*, yams, rice, pineapple, sugar cane. The most important non-edible crops are cotton and fish-poison. By the time the bulk of the planting is completed the watermelon season is over and the peanut crop harvested from the beach gardens. There is a lull in agricultural work until the corn ripens in December and January, during which time the men can devote themselves to rubber collection. However, the most assiduous workers never abandon the gardens for long. Apart from weeding the new gardens so that the newly planted crops can survive, the older gardens must be tended and in particular the banana plantations must be cleared of undergrowth and augmented. All of these tasks are the responsibility of men. Women only clear undergrowth for short periods whilst they are harvesting.

Relations of Production between Men

It is often easier to mobilize the help of a few other men to perform agricultural tasks. In smaller settlements the adult men, often brother-in-law to each other, cooperate, but there is no hard and fast rule about who helps whom. Brothers, cousins, fathers, uncles and so on might form part of a smaller work group. In Fronteira, where the largest sibling group and leading kin group of the village counts 7 adult brothers, it is more often affines who help each other in smaller work parties. On the other hand, in one seringal on the Jordão 11 brothers, living dispersed in several colocações, cooperated with each other during the period of peak agricultural activity, whilst their father spent his time hunting for them.

Even if people are unrelated, they still might cooperate if they live in the same place. In time such unrelated neighbours will usually form affinal ties, or enter into a compadrazgo relationship. It is not actual or classificatory kinship that generates cooperation and sharing; people believe that living together means working together too. For this reason any visitor is requested to help in some collective venture that has been planned during the time of their stay.

Small cooperative male work groups which habitually work together are always coresident in the same house or small settlement; hence a common relationship between co-workers is that of son-in-law and father-in-law. In many cases the young men, newly married and uxorilocally resident, find themselves working hard for the first time in their lives. This labour has many of the characteristics of "brideservice". However, the son-in-law does not necessarily withdraw from the household having successfully secured his marriage and performed the requisite term of "service"; if the marriage is successful he might stay on "for life".

Those sons-in-law who stay on become fully independent adults and are not in a subordinate relationship to their father-in-law. Young men are never ordered directly to perform major tasks, only minor ones. Instead they are expected to volunteer themselves when the father-in-law is considering some activity, or to work and hunt on their own initiative. Young grooms who feel that the burden of responsibility placed upon them is too much are free to leave and often do. Elders frequently become dependent on younger people for their subsistence and that of their own youngest children.

Rubber Tapping and the Production of Money

People need to acquire industrially manufactured goods and consumables, and men can do so by selling or exchanging rubber. If a man or adolescent is allocated one of the estradas, he can tap rubber two or three times a week from about April to December or January, although in practice few men are so diligent. Cashinahua consider the production of rubber a secondary activity, unlike their Cariú neighbours, and though some men will boast about their capacity to produce, it is rare for more than 50 kilos to be made by one man during a season. This figure varies considerably from settlement to settlement and between individuals, but overall Cashinahua men are bad seringueiros [35]. In areas where rubber cannot be tapped, men and especially the newly married work as caucheiros, or as lumbermen, or engage in wage labour on a daily basis for the Cariú bosses. Nearly all women refuse to work for outsiders, or even to speak Portuguese unless they must (although I came across 2 women who had worked as domestic servants briefly).

Hunting and Fishing

Tapping, hunting and fishing are usually solitary activities. Whereas women work alone at home, and collectively in the garden, men work collectively in both garden and village, but produce alone in the forest. Men go "walking" *ni-*, in the forest, searching for game animals to kill for their wives and mothers-in-law - *yuinaka tsaka kai* - going to kill game [36]. Kensinger (1975) and (1986), and Deshayes (1986) discuss hunting, and I limit myself to a few important points here. Hunting, like fishing, is not work, but searching and fetching. It does not involve sweat and heat as work does, and men are said to come back from the forest cool [37]. Men hunt alone, setting out early in the morning and returning at dusk. Often they hunt in the late afternoons for a few hours, after a day's work and when there is no meat or fish in the house. Collective hunts set out of the village together but split up once the hunters are out of earshot of the village, except in the case of sighting a particular kind of prey, such as a band of peccary, in which case the man who spots it signals to the rest and they join him in pursuit. Sometimes women accompany their husbands, ostensibly to carry the game home for them (also to make love). On extended hunting-camping trips, which last up to a week (though traditionally they lasted longer), a woman might go along to do the cooking and the work of preserving the game by smoking and roasting it [38].

Cast-net fishing is done alone, in the company of a wife, or in larger male groups [39]. A man owns what he catches. Men fish with poison in large groups as well; but ideally this is done together with women. Before I describe this important activity, I consider women's work in more detail.

Women's Work

Women work most of the time in the settlement and in the gardens. This space is created by men destroying and transforming the 'outside'. Men are 'like women' if they are seen to stay home too much. They ought, instead, to be engaged in the productive activities which require travel into the forest or out along the river. Women sometimes go out into the forest, but their principle place of production is the 'inside'.

Women are responsible for keeping the house and patio clean of débris and for washing clothes and hammocks. They also butcher small game animals and fish and complete the butchering of large game animals. Women gather fruit and nuts and fish small streams, either with other women and elder children, or with their husbands and coresident family. Such activities should provide no more than a supplement to the diet and are of no great interest when meat is plentifully available. However, some women bring home proportionately more fish than their husbands or other male members of the household and female fishing expeditions should not be underestimated. Visiting is also a source of food. Women visit the houses of other settlements from time to time and can expect to return home with their baskets laden with gifts of food. Such visiting is an important source of subsistence food for new settlers and those whose gardens have failed. The importance of this is further explored below. According to Montag (pc), women used to fetch firewood as part of their weekly routine, but abandoned the practice in imitation of Peruvian and Cariú women. These days they sit and wait for the man to fetch wood.

The principal female tasks are cotton work and the harvesting and cooking of food. Women harvest manioc and banana two or three times a week the year round; they also harvest seasonal crops of corn, once a year at the height of the rainy season and peanut, twice a year. The main peanut harvest is at the end of the dry season (see Figures 16-19 above). The style of harvesting is the same for both seasonal and perennial vegetables. However, the start of the seasonal harvest is marked by a more ceremonial approach, involving a collective harvest followed by a collective meal hosted by the woman in whose garden the harvest was made. Once the seasonal crops have fully matured, they are brought for storage in the rafters of the owner's houses; the task of preparing the bunches the men's.

Women spend about five or six days a month engaged in semi-ceremonial collective harvesting. Proportionally more trips are spent harvesting with one companion in their own garden. These trips are much faster, and do not involve polite hanging around, or preliminary collective meals. Yet harvesting is ideally carried out in group expeditions. It is important to realize that the work process from beginning to end is carried out by one woman, or in the name of one woman. Generally the people who help a woman are her younger dependents, daughters or siblings, girls who have not yet acquired responsibility for work of their own. These helpers are identified with the owner, as I shall discuss in Section 3. Most commonly of all the helper is her daughter. Mothers also help their adult daughters. Everything that a woman harvests belongs to her, no matter in whose garden she obtained it.

Women harvest both in their own and in other people's garden. Early in the morning one woman invites others to harvest in her garden, and a group is formed, sometimes comprising most of the women of the village. They gather informally in someone's house on their way out of the village. The expedition from beginning to end proceeds in an informal and lively atmosphere, which masks the strict etiquette shaping the expedition. For example, if any woman wants to stop on the way to check her nearby garden for ripe fruit, the others must wait patiently for her. There is no attempt to save time and a harvest that takes one woman in the company of her child at most two hours to accomplish, takes her four or five during a collective expedition. Efficiency is not an objective, then. The entire process of digging up, preparing, packing and carrying one woman's load of manioc home is carried out by her (and perhaps a junior helper) alone. A helper does not appropriate any of the manioc. Adult women rarely do another's work for her, preferring to sit and chat whilst she completes her preparations for the return home.

Whilst in the garden, its owner might make a specific gift of banana or papaya to a particular woman. The recipient will harvest it herself. Such presents are only made to women, usually to visitors who are spending a few weeks or months in the village.

The group separates upon arrival home, and each woman goes to her own house and hearth where she cooks the manioc or bananas in preparation for her husband's return from hunting or working. On days when she is free from other tasks, and especially before a special occasion like the arrival of visitors or a festival, women also prepare caissuma [40]. This drink, made from corn and peanuts, is extremely important to the Cashinahua. It constitutes one of the three essential elements of a proper meal - boiled manioc or green banana, meat or fish, and caissuma.

Cooking, *bava*, is also considered to be work, a woman's duty on a par with her menfolk's duty to hunt or weed the garden. I discuss it below in Section (4).

Women manufacture cotton goods, especially shoulder bags and hammocks, baskets used for storage of small objects and pottery, though the importance of this latter craft has diminished since the introduction of aluminum ware. Cotton work is women's work *par excellence*, and cotton continues to be an important crop. Women beat out the cotton in the early mornings, and then sit teasing out the cotton and spinning at night. Once they have enough balls of thread they dye them and prepare to weave. A large hammock takes about two weeks of work to weave, longer if it has a complicated woven pattern . A shoulder bag takes one or two days at most. The hammocks and bags are used by the Cashinahua, although most people in Recreio sleep in cheap storebought hammocks which cost one-fifth of an indigenous hammock. (These fetch up to US$60). People also like readymade clothes, but most women make their own dresses and some of the men's clothes. There are several sewing machines in the village.

Cotton handicrafts are the best means for a woman to make money, although she may also raise and sell pigs and chickens. The sale of handicrafts in Recreio equalled or surpassed the sale of rubber in terms of the cooperative's turnover. Women occasionally negotiate directly with outsiders, such as the Cariú river traders, but on the whole they prefer to deal indirectly, asking one of their kinsmen to negotiate on their behalf. Most handicrafts are sold by the male leader through the cooperative.

Relations of Production Between Women

When women work at home, they usually work alone, cooking, or weaving. Sometimes they work alone harvesting in their garden, accompanied only by a child. Even during semi-ceremonial collective expeditions the entire labour process is carried out by each woman on her own. Later she will reciprocate towards the owner of the garden by inviting her to harvest in her own garden on another such occasion. Thus the female collective domain is characterized by a circulation of the objects of labour (plants in the garden), whereas the male collective domain is characterized by a circulation of labour itself. Where female production is done in cooperation by pairs of women or girls, it might involve an asymmetrical relation of tutelage. The pair could be related in any number of ways: as mother and daughter, maternal grandmother and grandchild, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, sisters or elder and younger co-wife (usually sisters), or sisters-in-law. However, the hierarchical relation remains very low-key. One rarely hears an order given. Authority is expressed most frequently in the hissed and rapidly spoken reprimands issued by adult women to their children, usually in connection with some task performed sloppily, some mistake in work etiquette. Small cooperative groups are most often made up of mothers and daughters (not married sisters) and one woman generally helps (*dabe*) the other do her work. Mothers will help their adult daughters in collaboration rather than in authority. Only young girls perform tasks under the direction of an older woman. In these cases the direction is considered training .

Working Together

Certain activities, both traditional ones such as planting peanuts or fishing with poison and innovatory ones such as making manioc flour with a metal 'oven' (forno), require a combination of male and female collective labour. Inevitably men perform one kind of task and women another, so that their labour is complementary; however there is no exclusion of either sex from these tasks. Thus a fish-poisoning expedition can be either all-male or all-female, even though ideally it involves both sexes and all members of a community. Men may sieve manioc flour although they rarely do and there is no exclusion of women from toasting manioc flour. However, there is still a clear distinction between male and female tasks - in the planting of peanuts I never saw a woman making holes or a man planting the seed - and even where the same task is performed they tend to be done in different styles by each sex. Hence women catch fish with their hands far more often than they spear them; men carry the *kuki* carrying baskets with the strap around their chests, whereas women brace the load against their foreheads.

Male and female agency are clearly differentiated in this system. Whatever a person does is done in a genderized style, serving to reinforce the symbolically elaborated separation of the sexes. However there is no absolute dichotomy between male and female, since both are forms of human agency. For this reason, this is no total prohibition on men performing female work, and vice versa [41].

All Cashinahua plant *puikama* fish poison, a leafy bush whose pounded leaves, dissolved in the water of low streams and still pools of the smaller rivers leave the fish gasping for oxygen, causing them to rise to the surface. There are three forms of fishing expedition involving *puikama*. Small "in-family" trips involve basically a couple and their children. Women and children often fish with poison in small streams. The classic form involves large collective expeditions, a whole village or, in places like the Jordão, relatives from several neighbouring colocações. Occasionly, women initiate an all-female *puikama* fishing expedition of this kind, when the men are occupied with a collective work task and are unable to spare time for hunting or fishing [42].

Peanuts are an important part of the Cashinahua diet, and they are famous in the region for their cultivation. Peanut-planting is another productive activity involving both sexes. The entire settlement plants peanuts collectively on the beaches which the receding river lays bare in April, at the end of the rainy season. Every woman with children, and evry couple is allocated a carefully measured section of beach. Where beach area is scarce elder couples recieve the largest section, since they are responsible for feeding more people. The planting may be preceded by a ritual called *tama kenakinan*, 'calling/naming peanuts'. At dawn on the day of planting the men and women set out for the beach, carrying little enamel or plastic mugs, which the owner of the peanuts will fill up with sprouted seed. Men pound holes with long, sharpened poles, and the women bend over thrusting the sprouted seed into them.

The sexual conotations of this style of planting are not lost on the Cashinahua, who lose no opportunity to make approriate jokes to *their cross-cousins*. This crop ripens in August and September, and is treated, at first, like manioc. Women harvest in each others plots until the nuts harden. At this point they are usually harvested with male help.

A second crop is sometimes planted in the winter months, in a patch of the high ground garden. This might be harvested collectively, during February or March, by the entire community. In this case, women uproot the plants, and the men make bundles and transport them back to the houses.

Some work processes are carried out by a team of people coresident in one house, in a configuration that might be called 'household-based production'. These include making farinha, planting sugar cane in a harvested patch of the garden and weeding beaches for subsequent planting with peanut and watermelon. This same group goes poison-fishing, gathering, or visiting together. Where labour results in an immediate product, each person appropriates his or her own product, except in the case of farinha-making, which is made using Cariú technology and organization of production [43]. The farinha belongs to the person who initiated the work, and from whose garden the manioc is taken.

Cross-sex Relations of Production

The Cashinahua emphasize at every opportunity the division and interdependence between the sexes. Man and woman cannot live or work without each other. To do so would be to reject the identity of Real People, *Huni Kuin*. Male and female moral personhood is predicated upon the daily enactment of male and female agency in production. Upon marriage, young uxorilocally resident grooms are suddenly faced with responsibility for their parents-in-law. To their mother-in-law, *achi*, they owe certain prestations, such as meat, but no direct service. Rather they work "on behalf of" their father-in-law [44]. To him they owe labour. They work in his name, but the labour is not seen as an exchange against rights to a bride, or as payment of any sort. Instead, it takes the form of cooperative work in the name of an adult individual of the same sex. In this way it is like any work done by a young relative on behalf of, or "helping", *dabe*, an older kinsperson of the same sex. Such help, as I shall argue below, is predicated on relations of sameness between two people, rather than on relations of difference. The fact of affinity is a by-the-by. The labour establishes the young man as part of the family. Men's unmarried sons are also called upon to help in the same way and an inmarried son-in-law will develop close cooperative relations with them (his *chais*). As long as the groom has no children of his own, he has nothing that makes him need his own garden, or his own house. When he has several children, he is directly responsible for them and may assert his own independence if he and his wife so wish. Ideally, though, he should stay on in his wife's parents' house until they die [45].

Although the rhetoric on work is most often employed when talking about marriage and about the duties each partner has towards the other, in fact the most important economic relationship entered into by a young man upon his marriage is with his parents-in-law, and the most important cross-sex economic relationship with his *achi*, his mother-in-law [46]. This is why a young woman does not find her working life suddenly changed upon marriage; she simply continues as before, working together with her married sisters, and on behalf of her mother. With children, her responsibilities will become direct, and she will begin to "own" her own section of her parent's garden. A young woman who lives virilocally after marriage finds herself performing female work on behalf of her same-sex parent-in-law in the same way as a young man uxorilocally resident performs male work for his. She must cooperate with her mother-in-law and must make certain prestations to her father-in-law, especially cooked food. It cannot be said that by working in this way she is exchanging labour for her spouse, or performing a kind of "groomservice".

As these young people assume more responsibility for the work that they do, and their parents and parental affines grow older and weaker, several shifts in "ownership" of house and garden and responsibility for them, could occur. Where the son-in-law is taking over from his father-in-law, but the mother-in-law is still strong and active, these two become the central productive figures in the household. The one is responsible for male work, the other for female. This is why it is often said that a son-in-law makes a garden and hunts for his *achi*. His wife or wives are frequently unable to work hard because they are looking after babies. They cannot leave them unattended or take them to the gardens until they are at least about 5 months old. It is upon the wife's mother that the heaviest burden usually falls. When a woman is still strong but no longer fertile, she works harder and assumes greater responsibility than ever before. She no longer has infants of her own to breastfeed, and her daughters are in need of help. Her daughters have, of course, already spent many years helping her in her own work, and looking after their younger siblings. Those women who are unlucky enough to have no daughters, devote themselves to helping their daughters-in law.

Frequently fathers or mothers allow or even persuade their son-in-law to marry a second daughter; or they arrange a young husband for her and the newcomer joins his "brother" in the house of their *dais*. For several years the two young men might work together, helping their *kuka* (father-in-law), but eventually the older moves out with his wife and children to set up his own house and garden. If the couple remains in the same settlement as her parents, their house is built close by the old house, and their garden is an extension of the old garden. If they move out of the settlement, the relation of cooperation is curtailed except during periods of visiting, or if the son-in-law is called to help his *dais* for a major task such as garden clearing.

Spouses help each other in tasks normally performed by one or other sex. For example, women help their husbands to hunt paca and agouti with dogs, to go cast net fishing, to weed the gardens and so on. I came across several cases of women who collected the latex which their husbands had tapped. In the same way men help women to harvest manioc and banana, with some of the tasks involved in the preparation of cotton, in butchering meat and so on. People go along with their spouses to help in these tasks, but as far as I could tell the help was always peripheral. Tasks strongly linked to gender, like the actual killing of a game animal, or the uprooting of manioc, are rarely performed by the opposite sex if someone appropriate is there. The complementary nature of male and female production is dependent upon the gender-linking of activities and styles of doing them. Such linking goes deep into people's sense of identity, such that it is merely assumed that the person of the correct sex will perform the activity in question. Yet one should not forget that gender is merely an aspect of humanity and for this reason women occasionally kill animals or clear scrub and men sometimes cook. Both sexes are fully human, denizens of the inside which each helps the other in creating. In the next section I explore this issue from another angle.

Section 3: Appropriation, Ownership and the Circulation of Labour

In this section I discuss conceptions of person and possession, as a prelude to the discussion of distribution, prestation, consumption and exchange in (4). Underlying all appropriation is the idea that the maker owns his or her product. This can be seen most clearly in the case of immediate products, such as cooked food. The labour involved in the preparation of a single product might come from several people, but nevertheless the product belongs to only one person. The Cashinahua describe this quite clearly in the way that they talk about working.

(1) *Medabe vapa?* (2) *Atsadan mia chukaxunaitsa?*
(1) May I help? (2) Perhaps I could wash the manioc on your behalf?

The first question contains the word -*dabe* which also means "double". So the word which means " to help (in some task)" also has connotations of self-identification, of implying that one person is like another. To the question "What are you doing?" a Cashinahua might reply "*En dabeaii*" ("I am helping"). *Dabe* also has the meaning of "helping to form a foetus".

When a pregnant woman takes a lover, he is said to help her husband in the work of making the child [47].

The Cashinahua conception of the person assumes an integrity of the self, by which I mean that the self is not thought of as partible in the same way as, for example, in some Melanesian societies (see Strathern (1984) and (ms). This is most clearly visible in the relation between people and their possessions, which may only have one owner. People do not have relative rights in things - they either own them or not. This is why it is better to understand the relationship between people and their gardens or houses in terms of responsibilty, rather than in terms of ownership *per se*. Strictly speaking, food and things may be owned absolutely, and everything else (land, hunting territories, lakes, gardens) may have connotations of ownership - but that is all. Something of this attitude spills over into the relation between parents and children; but relations between people are in no way comparable to relations between persons and things, as we shall see.

Things are aspects of the person who owns them. By this I mean that possessions are closely identified with their owners. When the person dies they must be destroyed along with her or him. If s/he gives them away or sells them, the alienability or non-alienability of the thing depends upon the relationship between the transactors, upon whether or not they are co-resident and/or kin. Conversely, the form of prestation or transaction defines and redefines relationships (see below).

To return to the example quoted above: the implication I derive from the meaning of *dabe* in this case is that selfhood can be transferred from one person of the correct category to another. Working often involves a lending of personal powers or effort to another person. The integrity of the self is not damaged when one person works for another. Helping another person means behaving like that person, or giving one's energies to that person as if they were the other's own energies. Usually that other person is of the same sex, though in practice there is no absoluteness about this rule. In moments of symbolic elaboration, however, the separateness is crystal-clear [48]. This is why the notion of personhood is so important within the sexual division of labour. Persons act according to their gender and their agencies are defined according to the male/female contrast.

The word *dabe*, in the example given above, therefore implies relations of identification between two subjects, between helper and helped. Such identification in the context of production is nearly always between persons of the same gender.

The second question in the example given above contains the morpheme *xun-* , which means "on behalf of, for" and is always used in a transitive mode, attached to a verb of action. One person does something for someone, makes something for him or her, contributes labour to an object that will be for another's use, be the possession of another person. It implies a different kind of relationship to that implied by *dabe*.

> *Min java vai, Evan?- aka- En dais disi timaxunyuaii, inankatsidan*
> "What are you doing, Mother?" -Asked one- "I am weaving a hammock for my son-in-law, so that I may give it to him." (Replied the other).

The second form of relation, implied by the morpheme *-xun-*, is one of differentiation between persons.

Whilst it is rare for men to help (*dabe*) women, and vice-versa, people do things on behalf of either sex (*-xun-*). This is important because it means that labour is only exchangeable between people of the same sex. The limited sphere of reciprocity involving the circulation of labour, noted above, is based upon people lending each other their personal powers, their skills and strength. With time each will receive a return of labour. It is inconceivable that such a debt between kin can be cancelled by material reward. Where labour is exchanged against things, the relationship between transactors is one of non-kin, of strangers and enemies [49].

This non-exchangeability of labour for thing between kin is related to the conception of the product. Labour which results immediately in a tangible product invests the worker with individual ownership. Objects are 'aspects of the person', whether this person be the maker of the object or someone who receives it as a present. They are therefore to be destroyed at the person's death.

Personal possessions are not related to the owner in terms of a subject-object dichotomy. The relationship should be thought of:-

(1) as one between aspects of the self, when the product or item has been made by the owner, or

(2) as one between subjects, when the product or item has been given to the owner.

In the first case (1) the relationship is a simple metonymical one, and can be understood in a literal sense; the thing 'is' the person. It should be noted that this is an inversion of the situation in Western models of the relation between persons, where a person can come to be an object, like a thing [50]. In the second case (2) the item stands for the relationship between giver and receiver. The mother-in-law is making an item which stands for her relationship with her son-in-law. Things can relate to their owner both as extensions of self, like a man's bow or a woman's hammock and as symbols of a person's relationships with specific kin, like a man's hammock, made by his wife, or a woman's carrying basket, made by her husband.

Those products which people make for their own use are in fact always used in the production of relationships. A man's bow is used to hunt game for his wife or mother-in-law, and not for himself. It is an extension of himself, but the self is defined in terms of the actions, the work that the body does, and the work is done for others, especially kin. A woman's pots (which she has made herself) are used in the cooking of food for others, especially her husband and children. Likewise, the consumables that men and women make or bring back - such as women's manioc and men's game animals - are possessed only to be given away in the social process.

This distinction between things related to the person metonymically, and things related as separated subjects, frequently encompasses the distinction between genders. The perfect transaction between separate subjects is one between a man and a woman. The distinction between the morphemes *-xun-* and *dabe-* is indicative of this set of concepts, since the former can be used in cross-sex transactions (a man does something for his wife), whilst the latter in ideally exclusive to single-sex transactions (a woman does something with her mother).

The Cashinahua think of themselves in terms of one category, 'humankind'. Within this category there is a subdivision into male and female kinds of people, *juni* and *ainbu* respectively. Cross-cutting this subdivision is another subdivision, that into *Inu/Inani and Dua/Banu* kinds of people. However, whatever the subcategory, the basic conception of personhood remains the same. Full moral persons are adults who produce according to their gender. As I have said, the male/female contrast is based upon the concept of differing agencies, and differing productive relations to the world. In this section I have shown how people are related to things in terms of labour, appropriation and possession. In the next two sections I will show how they make relations with other people via the detachment or retention of such things.

Section 4: Distribution and Consumption

I showed, in the last section, that persons do not relate to their possessions in terms of a subject/object dichotomy. Their things are considered as aspects of themselves, in a very real sense. When people die, their souls are said to long for their possessions as they long for (*manu*) their living kin; for this reason the things must be destroyed.

> Once I found an enamel bowl at the edge of Anisa's patio, in the scrub. I brought it back to her, thinking that a child must have thrown it away. She looked appalled and told me to throw it back. It had belonged

to her dead father, she said, and it was of no use to anyone anymore.

There is a rough division between the kinds of things that men and women own. An average man owns a suitcase filled with clothes, some ammunition, a comb, photos, documents (such as baptismal certificates for himself and his children), and assorted odds and ends. In the rafters he might keep some feathers and monkey or squirrel fur for making headresses and sometimes some arrow cane and a bow. He also owns a knife, worn in his belt, a machete, a shotgun, some of the bowls, plates, mugs and spoons used by his wife, an axe and perhaps other storebought tools such as a hoe. Most men own or scheme about owning a wristwatch and occasionally a radio. Some men own a canoe and a very few an outboard engine.

Everyone owns a hammock and usually a mosquito-net, although most such "nets" (they are really cloth tents) accomodate several hammocks. Livestock are counted among people's possessions (although they are not classified as *mabu* and are not slaughtered at the death of the owner). People own kerosene, diesel and petrol and other consumables such as salt and soap.

Women have a cardboard suitcase filled with clothes and odds and ends, such as hair oil, lipstick, thread and needles, toilet soap and photos. They usually own a knife, a machete and a number of aluminium pots and pans, as well as basketry and pottery that they have made or been given. Among the things made for them by their husbands are a *kuki* carrying basket, spindles and weaving implements and a *binti* stirring paddle. A few women own sewing machines, watches and radios.

The Cashinahua are highly materialistic, in the sense that they covet other people's property and dream of owning bigger, better, more things and eating more exotic, easy, sweet food (such as sugar, biscuits, sweets). Visitors are often astounded by their importunate behaviour and struck by the quantity of their possessions which, although pitifully few by city standards, contrasts with the meagre and unkempt possessions of other indigenous peoples in the area [51]. Despite the stress placed on sharing as ideal behaviour, the Cashinahua have developed a series of strategies to avoid sharing whilst appearing (they hope) to be generous.

People's possessions (*mabu*) are identified with them as individuals, and in this sense are inalienable. This is why such objects cannot be inherited. Their owners may however give them away whilst alive, and when they do so they create or reinforce bonds of sameness conceived of in terms of kinship. Making people presents of food and things is tantamount to making them kin. Refusing to give people such presents is tantamount to denying kinship. It is for this reason that such stress is placed upon the virtues of generosity and kindness (being *duapa*, *dua va*, looking after) and such scorn poured upon those who are miserly, *yauxi*.

The more possessions a person owns, the more s/he is fair game for 'begging'. Possessions are for a purpose, people stress, and should neither be hoarded, nor be used privately. Instead, they should either be given away to others, or used to create things to give away to other people. Things should be used as or for kinship-forming prestations. Of course, this is not always possible or desirable, since the generous would end up propertyless and the mean and importunate would accumulate at their expense. There are many techniques whereby people avoid having to make such prestations and manage to save and hoard, which I shall discuss in the next section.

If things are not given away in kinship-forming prestations, they may be exchanged outside of the sphere of kinship. This 'exchange' takes several forms, but is typified these days by transactions with Cariú traders. Something which creates kinship when it is given away as a present, confirms difference if it is sold as a commodity. Furthermore, somebody who demands something openly, expressing a claim to common kinship with its owner, would express a lack of kinship if she or he were to steal the object. Theft and commodity transactions make people into strangers and enemies, whereas giving and receiving presents make them into kin.

I will explore this contrast and show how it is linked to the Cashinahua conception of consumption below.

The contrast between transactions which create kinship and transactions which make enemies is paralleled by the linked spatial opposition between inside and outside. Enemies come from the outside, from the deep forest and the city, from far upriver and far down river. They are entirely necessary for social reproduction because they are the source of the many good things and the powerful knowledge that 'Real People' need. Forest beings are the source of game; river beings are the source of fish. The Cariú and the Nawa are the source of many kinds of manufactured goods and consumables which are indispensable to the socio-economic process.

The set of relationships involved in transactions with the Cariú, commonly known in Brazil as the aviamento system and other forms of commercial relations, are discussed in the next chapter. I show there that these relationships are considered by the Cashinahua to be necessary but dangerous. The danger is palpable - most men have experienced the effects of the negative value attached to caboclo identity, have been humiliated and exploited at some stage in their lives - but it is not considered overwhelming or ethnocidal. At present, the Cashinahua feel able to cope with foreigners and make use of them, of the "outside", for their own needs.

These needs are summed up in the high value that the Cashinahua place upon the creation of kinship and the construction and reproduction of the "inside". An essential element in the social process is the distribution and consumption of food, to which I now turn.

The Distribution, Sharing and Consumption of Food

Upon his return from the forest, a man turns over his meat and fish to a woman, usually his wife. But if he is recently married, or if she is nursing a very young baby, the meat is for her coresident mother. Occasionally the young man personally gives part of his catch to his mother-in-law when she lives in another household, but more often he leaves this present to his wife's care. Women always give part of their game and fish to their mothers and such transactions go unremarked. It is only when a hunter brings home a pair of animals, or a big kill like deer, that the ensuing prestation to his mother-in-law is made in the name of both [52].

As the woman sits butchering the animal, dividing it up into carefully considered pieces, she must calculate to whom she will give and what piece she will send. Distribution is effected by sending younger people with messages, or sometimes with the piece of meat. On receipt of a message the recipient either comes by to pick the meat in person or she sends a child. When the animal is small, pieces are sent in disguise, inside an aluminium pot, or in a carrying basket under a few manioc roots. When there is enough to give to everybody, there is a sudden flurry of activity as women or their representatives converge on the kitchen to which they have been called.

If someone fancies a particular part of the animal, they might pre-empt the decision of the owner by asking for it; in this case it is impossible to refuse. When the game caught is small, this activity - begging ('*buse*') - can be the cause of much resentment, especially when the coveted meat (or fish) is part of a lop-sided flow. This is because the amount of game coming into different households differs considerably, depending on the number of active men and skilled hunters residing there. The possession of a good hunting dog can also mean that a particular woman always has a supply of meat. Such women are in the minority.

On the whole people will not beg unless they consider that they can do so without being considered *daketape* - *'importunate, shameless' - someone who always begs and forces others to part with their possessions. It is safest to beg from one's closest relatives and affines, secure in the knowledge that you have given fairly in the past and will be able to do so again in the future. People are less likely to* *complain about the buse* activities of their closest relatives. Nevertheless pride often dictates against a *buse sortie*. More frequently the person who wanted something sits resentful in her house, complaining about the stinginess of her relative. One hears the comment 'so-and-so is miserly' - '*yauxi*' - more often than the comment 's/he is generous' - '*duapa*'.

The corollary of this complex of desire, possession and pride is the skill of all Cashinahua and especially women in hiding their belongings and lying. Once meat has been preserved, it will be hidden inside the bedroom or in a basket hanging from the kitchen rafters. Only if the woman who owns it feels that there is enough for all comers will she merely place it out of reach of dogs and small children. If she has hidden it the arrival of visitors from another settlement or a distant house will not cause undue strain upon her resources. She can say as she serves the standard bowl of manioc that she is very sorry not to be able to offer meat. However if the meat is on display it would be very rude not to offer it. Most visitors are too proud to ask for what they know or suspect is there, preferring to gossip about the miserly nature of their hosts afterwards.

Within a populous village like Recreio, it is often impossible to hide the small catches that men bring in, even though every attempt is made to do so. Even if the hunter succeeds, the proximity of the houses means that the sight and smells of its preparation give away the nature of one's neighbours' suppers. With the exception of a few notoriously importunate and shameless people, generally those with worst access to foods, it is an established convention to avoid those houses where cooking or eating of meat is in progress but from which no invitations have been forthcoming. People will pass by silently, and if a polite invitation to enter is muttered by the man or woman of the house, will reply that they are on their way somewhere. This restraint is a reciprocal convention between neighbours and between kin. People know that soon enough they will be in the same situation and will not want to share their meal with friends from other households.

If, however, somebody wants to be fed, s/he might simply arrive at a house when everyone is sitting down to eat. In this case an invitation to partake will be forthcoming, no matter how secretly annoyed the hosts feel. Likewise, if a woman wants a piece of meat from another woman, often she does not have to beg if she visits her at the correct moment, when the meat is being prepared for cooking.

Those people who are forced into giving still have considerable ability to control what it is they give away. If someone hides all her meat, she is a terrible miser. If she gives a small piece of a lesser valued part of the body to someone, she has avoided appearing as a miser whilst at the same time expressing her small regard for the recipient. If she gives generously, noone can fault her. The meanings of these transactions are thus graded according to the quality and size of the present, within the context that it is given.

The distribution of fish follows a similar pattern, except on those occasions (relatively frequent in the dry summer months) when collective fish-poisoning expeditions result in an abundance of fish in every household. When this is the case, there is a small amount of giving, especially between mothers and daughters; but since everyone has access to more than enough fish the emotional overtones of who receives what are virtually absent. People do share, during the feasts which follow these expeditions (see below).

Gifts between women during gardening expeditions (mentioned above) are either prompted by the knowledge that a kinswoman is short on the particular vegetable or fruit given, or perhaps the donor is showing her friendship to the recipient. These gifts are not the subject of the same anxieties and grievances as the prestations of meat or fish, and no woman will accuse another of miserliness merely because she has never been her beneficiary. Often a woman who is hosting a collective expedition to harvest manioc in her garden will tell all the others with her to cut cane or knock down papayas.

One way that a woman who is unlucky in her supply of meat can express her generosity is by participating in gathering expeditions, or by cooking a large batch of some kind of special food and then giving much of it away. The most commonly gathered fruit in Recreio are inga, cacao, assai, massandaroba, *yae* [53]. Planted fruit obtained as a present in another settlement, such as oranges, mangos and avocados, are treated in the same way. Also gathered are various kinds of nut or coconuts.

The gatherers come into the village laden down, walk to their house and dump the contents of the basket on the floor. They immediately begin sorting the fruit or nuts into piles. The biggest piles go to immediate kin; if the recipient is temporarily away the fruit will be stored for him or her. Messages are sent out to those women from other houses who will receive, and on these occasions adolescent girls are included too, which is rarely the case with meat. All children who happen to be around will get at least a mouthful of fruit by begging it from the collector or her children, who always receive generous portions. Any men who happen to be around at the time also get a share, often a generous one.

Within minutes of the fruit gatherers' arrival, the houses are covered with the discarded skins and seed. Some women who have been called to receive a present eat on the spot; others take their basin or basket of fruit back home to share it with their families. The recipients sit consuming a vast quantity at once and very fast, perhaps so as to give away less to late-comers. Often there is a common pile from which the least favoured eat, and those who eat fastest eat most. Little children deal with the anxiety this causes by grabbing a handful and making for a private spot, where they eat alone and unhappily. Usually they are thoroughly scolded for such behaviour by mother or elder sister, and lectured on the value of eating peacefully from a common pile with their siblings. No matter how much fruit is brought into the village, it will be gone within a day or so and often at the first sitting.

The Meal

Even if a large amount of fruit is consumed during the afternoon, a proper meal will still be served when the hunter or the fisherman returns. In this subsection I first describe ordinary proper meals, involving residents in one house and then collective meals involving several households or the entire community. Both kinds of meals follow similar rules.

If the men of a house have been engaged in work until dusk, or have been unlucky in their late afternoon sortie for meat and fish, some semblance of a meal is still served. If game is brought in this takes place immediately it is cooked. Otherwise people eat just after sundown, when they have finished late afternoon visiting, have bathed and, occasionally, managed to put the babies in their hammocks. All the residents of a house take part in such meals.

A proper first course consists of meat or fish, accompanied by boiled manioc or green banana. One may eat vegetables alone, from hunger, (*buni* hungry) but not meat or fish. The act of consuming the two together is *nai*, and literally it means taking a bite of one and then of the other and chewing them together. However as long as children are seen to be eating their fair share of vegetables, they are not made to literally chew together. People do not like to eat unaccompanied vegetables and unless they are very hungry refuse the food saying "*En pintsiaii*" ("I am hungry for meat"). However, unless a wife or wilful child wants to make a point, people generally eat some substitute for the unavailable meat [54]. I would not interpret this statement as an indication that male food (animal flesh) is considered superior to female food (vegetable), in contrast to many writers on the subject [55]. This is an important point and one that I return to later.

Cooking *bava*, (literally 'to make cooked') is a female task. A cook transforms the dangerous raw food into safe and life-generating cooked food and this transformation involves an agency conceived as female, as I discussed above in chapter 2 (and see Appendix 5). Cooking is analogous to procreating (*ba*) and is a central aspect of the economic process. It is thought to require years of practice for a woman to be a good cook and even so some women 'never learn'. Their food is cooked and served carelessly. Serving food is a prestigious activity that defines a woman's status as a producing adult, a moral person. It also reflects well on her husband's abilities. Plentiful food shows that each spouse is a hard worker and successful producer.

The woman serves the men first. She carefully places whole tubers in a plate or basin and carries it to where her husband (or whomever she is serving) is sitting. Men sit in the *chintunti* hammock, which is kept strung in the living room for daytime use, or else on little stools (used child's initiation stools), or on any available object, such as logs or old tortoise shells. They never sit on the floor, preferring to squat if they must.

The next plateful is for the women, who sit apart in a separate group, or in another room - usually the kitchen. Their bowlful is normally smaller. Then the cook will serve her own children separately. If any of the other women have children, they will bring a plate and will serve their own children from the common bowl. However in these cases they also will have cooked on a separate fire and will also serve first the men, then the women, with plates of vegetables. Very old women are usually given separate plates and sit a little apart whilst they eat.

Next the meat-dish is served. A common bowl is set out for the men, and another for the women. If a large game animal has been killed the head is usually served to the men [56]. The woman who is serving keeps a piece of meat for herself and makes sure each of her children have a share. If she wants to favour a particular woman, she gives her a piece of meat, which the recipient is not obliged to share with anyone. However it is often the case that she does share with someone, and in some cases this is what is intended by the original donor; she is merely distributing the responsibility for the final distribution of the meat, and giving someone else the opportunity to also be generous.

Very often a woman will also give a personal plate of meat or fish to her husband and if one of her brothers is eating in her house, another for him. This only happens when meat or fish is plentiful. Otherwise all men eat from the common bowls.

The male style of eating contrasts with the female. Men move forward from their benches or stools to pick up a piece of meat and a piece of manioc, and then sit back again to eat it. Eaters must always calculate how much they can take since they must leave enough for everyone else. The youngest men sit well back, or even stand at the edges of the group, respectfully, whilst the senior men lounge in their hammocks and hold forth. Sometimes they hold a young child and feed it. Occasionally a man calls to his wife and hands her a choice portion of meat, especially if he knows she is going without.

Women sit on the floor, politely cross-legged, their babies in their laps, and their youngest children around them. All women who have young children have their own plates, upon which they put their children's food. They eat either from this plate themselves or from the common plate, which is served for all and from which childless women must eat. The woman's group thus spreads out in little groups of mothers and children, whilst the men's group is ranged around an open space in the centre of which the food is placed and from which all except the most senior move back and forth. Seniority is clearly delineated in the male pattern of eating, but not in the female.

These differing male and female styles of eating also characterize collective meals. Sharing of food between households depends upon the quantity that is available (sometimes when meat or fish are very scarce a man eats informally with his wife and children in the kitchen). In a large settlement like Recreio, someone brings in some meat or fish nearly every day so invitations to neighbours are the norm. Each guest brings his own plate of food, prepared for him by his wife (usually a base of manioc or banana topped with a few pieces of meat or fish). If he has no meat he can just bring vegetables, or a bowl of caissuma. The food is added to the communal collection in the centre of the floor.

The communal group thus formed varies in size; it is only when there has been a large kill made or if many people have been poisoning fish that the village will come together.

The male leader calls daily from his house inviting the men to eat with him, just as Elias described (see above), but not everyone comes regularily. Sometimes people stay away, from pride, because they have nothing to contribute to the meal. Sometimes they only go if they know that a big kill has been made. When game or fish are plentiful most men eat in the leader's house, and the food they bring with them adds up to an impressive variety of dishes. Such collective meals are also common in the mornings before a male collective work party is to set out, even if there is little meat or fish.

The male leader's wife or wives serve the food that they have prepared to the men. In doing so, they behave as the female leaders to which Elias referred. Often other women will also serve the men with food - a woman comes across from her own house to where the men are eating, bearing a bowl of caissuma or some other dish, which she presents to a male relative. Sisters most frequently remember their brothers in this way, but a woman can also give to the other categories of male kin. Women may also invite their male relatives to meals, though usually the invitation is issued by a male coresident, especially the husband.

Women also eat together frequently, but not in such large collective groups as the men. Women's collective meals tend to be held at different times from the men's, since when the men are eating the women are often engaged in cooking and serving them, and feeding the children, before they are able to sit down to their own meals. Women spend far more time at home than men do, and midday meals are frequently all-women affairs. A woman will bring down her last package of roast fish from the day before, and signal to her sister-in-law to come over and share it with her. If her maternal aunt is at home, she too might come, accompanied by grandchildren, bearing a bowl of food. Someone brings caissuma, someone else banana, and the range of food is complete.

These all female meals are more informal than the evening meals where the men sit in a group and their wives serve them. If a man is also at home he sits only a little apart and joins in the conversation. It is only when men are in a group exceeding two or three, or if some visitors have come from afar, that an air of ceremony pervades the occasion.

After a collective fishing expedition, all the men and all the women eat collectively, but nearly always in separate houses. Depending upon the convenience of the location, the house of a senior woman will regularly be used as the women's collective dining hall. The site for these meals is liable to change from time to time, whereas the men always eat major collective meals in the male leader's house, except when they go to a particular hunter's house at his invitation after he has made a big kill. On these occasions the hunter's wife will invite all the women too and they will eat in the kitchen whilst the men eat in the living area.

Visiting

It is when they are visiting or being visited that the Cashinahua most clearly express their conception of shared being, across the spatial barriers between settlements. They do so via the meal, with its allusion to the nature of kinship, which derives from the labour exchanges, sharing of food and all the processes of coresidence that are part of the subsistence economy.

If someone in another settlement kills a tapir, or several peccary, news travels fast and people drop their work and set out on a visit. There are many other reasons to go visiting. For example, if someone has a good supply of *puikama* leaf poison, he or she might invite relatives to come for a day's fishing. Whatever the cause, the guests are always treated according to a set formula, which it is extremely rude to ignore.

Visiting, *bai ka* or *uin ka,* is especially common in the dry season. Travel is easiest at this time, and visitors often come from far afield to spend several months with their kin. In the AIAP people frequently go on day trips to another settlement. Setting out early in the morning, on empty stomachs, they arrive at their destination after two or three hours. As they come up to their relative's house, they address the man o woman of the house and say "*Chain* (etc.), *en miki uinkatsi juaii*" ("Brother-in-law (etc.)I have come to visit you". They are then bidden to enter. Then each person in the house asks "*Min ma juai,* ...?" ("Have you arrived, my so-and-so?" And the guests reply individually, addressing each relative in turn with their kin appelation, saying "I have arrived indeed, Mother-in law (etc.)". Then they sit down in a cluster, men and women together if they are few, separated if they are many. They are immediately served with boiled manioc, which is usually available. If not the woman of the house sits down and begins peeling any tubers she has left over from the last visit to the garden. A bowl of caissuma might also be put out, but the visitors do not touch it yet if they know there is a proper meal in the offing. Caissuma is the last course in the meal and it is common for people to linger for hours chatting and drinking it, when they have finished eating.

The visitors eat their meal on their own. If the hosts have not yet eaten that day, they will eat a little apart. If the woman serving wishes to mark a special relationship with one of the guests, she can favour her or him with a special morsel, or a personal plate of food. In some houses, the Cariú custom of serving each person with a separate enamel plate containing a personal portion of meat has been adopted; but this is relatively rare.

When the visitors wish to linger chatting, they might spend hours at the first house. Otherwise, they eat quickly and move on to the next, taking their presents with them. In every house they visit the same process is gone through. As the visitors eat more and more, they begin refusing offers of manioc alone, but never refuse meat or fish. As always the food is eaten *nai*, vegetable and meat together. Gifts to women visitors of fresh game and fish, sweet bananas, peanuts, farinha, manioc tubers and so on are stashed in the baskets or bags they have brought with them. It often happens that in one house there is meat, in another fish, another caissuma, another sweet bananas. By the afternoon, when it is time to go, the visitors should be satiated and the women loaded down with presents. On their way home they might stop to pick up some fruit that was spotted on the outward journey, or if game is sighted one of the men might set off in pursuit.

People who visit too often are treated more casually, although always according to the proper formulae. A woman who feels she is being exploited might decide to withhold the meat she has hidden in the house. Close relatives are more likely to be treated well than distant, or non-kin, unless they are so close as to have been coresidents recently, in which case the serving of food is more informal. Visitors who are totally unrelated but understand the rules or are in the process of learning them - anthropologists, political workers, missionaries, the very few Cariú neighbours who accept the Cashinahua on equal terms - and also Yaminahua and unrelated Cashinahua from other areas, could be treated exceptionally well, depending upon the proclivities of the hosts. On the other hand, some foreigners, especially Cariú, are ignored.

Guests do not join in any work that is planned until a day or two after arriving in the host settlement; hosts are expected to drop any work they are doing, though if they have no meat or fish it is acceptable if they go looking for it. When leaving, the guests ought to address everyone they have encountered during their visit, saying "*En ma kaii, Juchin* (etc.) ("I am already going, Elder Brother (etc)" and the response is: "*Kadive*" ("Go now").

When visitors are fed generously and given presents, they are inducted into the sphere of sociality. The woman who serves the food makes a statement about the shared humanity of herself, her guests, and her own kin, on behalf of all members of her household. When she withholds food, she effectively denies a close social tie, and stresses the difference between her own people and the visitors.

The symbolism and efficacy of the meal

As a woman sets out a meal containing the three constituents - meat, manioc, caissuma - she sets out 3 processed substances that sum up the relationships underlying their production. These relationships are not simple ones. The Cashinahua stress marriage as a shorthand for the complex of creative processes based upon the male-female opposition. But the meal is more than a metaphor for these productive processes. It is itself directly efficacious because the food consumed produces the body which consumes it, and the strength and health that is required for production. Together husband and wife make the food that their children need in order to have strength, to live and to grow. This process of feeding is paralleled by the process of biological reproduction, where men and women's blood combine with much work (sex) to form a foetus. 'True food' (*piti kuin*) is a combination of both kinds of food, male and female, meat and vegetable, just as human babies are made of a combination of male and female blood.

The corporeal processes of making babies and making bodies are paralleled by the socio-economic processes. The male collectivity produces and maintains domestic space out of the forest, and brings the products of the forest into the domesticity they have created. The female collectivity works within the domestic space to make the products of the forest consumable. Like the couple whose lovemaking is the work of forming a child, the dual agency of the genders is required in the process of manufacturing community. Male agency is concerned with transformation through destruction, and involves a direct confrontation between humans and the denizens of the outside. Traditionally, men 'absorbed the essence' of a certain snake in order to help them acquire this agency. The snake is a symbol of the male relation with animals on the one hand, and wild plants on the other, both living things that men must destroy as they hunt or weed their gardens. As I have shown in this chapter, male confrontation with live forest animals is a solitary affair, and with live forest plants a collective one. Women, by contrast dela with dead forest animals and river fish, and with garden plants, in a process that particularizes female action. Yet the female domain of productive action is not relegated to a hidden or 'domestic' slot in economic organization. Women's production is celebrated by women themselves in semi-ceremonial collective expeditions which female leaders organize; and women are instrumental in the distribution of male and female products, in prestations which strengthen their and their husband's ties with kin and affines. Female agency directly creates sociality in this way. Furthermore, by transforming raw food into real meals, women enable all people, men and women, to come together in its consumption. The meal they serve stands for the making of social life itself.

The meal is not only valuable because it makes the body; it also stands for the making of this world, inhabited by living kin, people who are really human. When men eat the food a wife serves them, or when visitors eat the food their hosts provide, their hunger and desire are satisfied. They have been respected, treated as kin should properly be treated. The selflessness and generosity of feeding the visitors is only paralleled in the feeding of their children. This is why leaders must feed the village as 'parents' of the villagers. Feeding is the ideal work of kinship and most especially of parenthood. When a male leader calls his people "*En Bakebu*", ("My Children"), he should not only be speaking metaphorically. As Elias told me, he should also be speaking the truth.

CHAPTER 4: POWER, GENDER AND THE MANUFACTURE OF COMMUNITY

1: Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the production of sociality at a political level, showing how the Cashinahua notion of community as a process is centered on the idea and the practice of male-female complementarity. I show how 'community' is conceived of as the continual recombination of the external, associated with coercive power and linked to male gender, with the internal, which is associated with legitimate authority and the relation between male and female. Political organization, I show, is based on the dynamic relation between the male-female domain and male or female domains within the social and economic process. It does not derive from an intitutionalized structure incorporating relations of dominance and subordination.

In the last chapter I developed the discussion of the marriage relationship and its place in the productive process. I suggested that all phases of production were analogous to sexual procreation, and that consumption both effects and expresses the links between the economic process and sexuality and kinship. In this chapter I continue the exploration of the male-female relationship, concentrating on parenthood and the asymmetrical production of kinship. In particular, I focus on the roles of male and female leaders as 'parents' of the community.

I develop a contrast between the Cashinahua concept of legitimate authority - paradigmaticaly exercised by parents - and their concept of coercive power - paradigmatically exercised by non-Cashinahua. I show why behaviour associated with coercive power defines reciprocal social relations with non-kin, yet in certain circumstances becomes a possible form of relations between kin because legitimate authority might slip into authoritarianism. In practice both coercive and non-coercive power are part of social relations with all people, whether Cashinahua or Nawa. Leadership is a process involving the continual combination of both kinds of hierarchical relationship, both that which defines asymmetrical kinship, (manifested as legitimate authority) and that which suggests a rejection of kinship (manifested as violence, coercion, or exchange). This process, however, does not take place within a stratified political structure and for this reason Cashinahua political organization may be qualified as 'egalitarian', despite its particular use of idioms of power and of notions of hierarchy.

Whilst occasional coercion is always a potential form of interaction with outsiders, continuous control exercized by one person over another is only possible in a situation of close co-residence. Adults sometimes attempt to control the sexual behaviour of their young kin and affines, as I described in chapter 2. The Cashinahua justify this behaviour because they say adult men and women must teach their children and children-in-law the correct way of living. Although men and women unite on occasions of conflict in an attempt to control the adolescents, in general legitimate authority of this kind is gender-linked. They consider that men have legitimate authority over their sons and coresident sons-in-law and women over their daughters and coresident daughters-in-law. Normally such authority does not produce conflict, taking place as it does within the economic process of production, distribution and consumption as I described above. But when a couple's children are of an age to marry and begin producing for themselves as well as on behalf of their parents, situations of conflict can arise. The relationship that parents and parents-in-law have with their coresident and recently married adolecents is without doubt potentially the most coercive form of social relation between Cashinahua people. Of the documented cases of adults controlling adolescents that I have collected, the insistence on forcing first cross-cousins to marry against their will is the most striking (see above, chapter 2). Such an attitude on the part of male and female parents is socially condoned, it seems, despite the fact that the Cashinahua also strongly dislike authoritarian behaviour. It is guided not by a desire to retain control over the adolescents involved, or their labour, but by a desire for grandchildren of the correct category. The parents are seeking to create a new relationship for themselves by forcing marriage upon the reluctant adolescents; thus mothers hope for their namesake grandchild and fathers for their *chai*'s namesake. Once the couple have produced a child, they are finally allowed to divorce and marry according to their own wishes. This forcible guidance of the sex lives of children is looked upon by the Cashinahua as a method of teaching them and 'looking after their best interests'. It should be stressed that the authority to guide and organize is temporary and disappears with time. When children are young, their elder same-sex siblings also guide and care for them; but such authority also lapses into a later relationship of respect. In both these kinds of cases, the model is one of complementary and parallel asymmetries involving same-sex parent and child.

Such a model is the basis of Cashinahua political organization. Like many peoples in Amazonia, they have a system of dual internal leadership based on the male/female opposition. Women lead women, and men, men [1]. Such gender-circumscribed leadership is limited to certain activities, primarily those of collective production, but the Cashinahua think of their communities as being led by a 'father' and a 'mother', united in wedlock, who produce the community in a way analogous to the production of children. I shall substantiate this contention in this chapter.

From an external vista, Cashinahua communities are led by one man, known in Portuguese as the tuxaua, or chefe. This is the main *xanen ibu*, the male leader whom all members of the community, men and women, acknowledge. I shall refer to this figure as the main or chief leader. He is responsible for the production and protection of the community through relationships with outsiders. His wife is nominally at least the acknowledged leader of the women (*ainbu xanen ibu*). She does not normally have truck with outsiders unless they come in to her house, when she is responsible for feeding them. Such an act, as I have already shown, is tantamount to initiating a 'kinship' relation and is an important part of the political process from a Cashinahua point-of-view.

The male leader of the community, the tuxaua, is a figure who represents it in dealings with outsiders and organizes the collective activities of its members. He is in theory the most '*xanen ibu*' of all the men in the community, the most successful husband, worker and hunter (see above). There are two kinds of *xanen ibu*, the *xanen ibu kaya*, and the *chana xanen ibu*, the 'true' or 'big' leader, and the chantleader, the 'japim bird' leader. The chief leader is a true leader and not a chantleader. These two categories are again subdivided according to gender, although the existence of female leaders is less marked than that of male. Women do not lead whole communities in the same way as men and are never (as far as I know) chief leaders. Their main functions are to lead collectivities of women in productive activities and collective meals, and to feed visitors thus inducting them into the the realm of sociality. Such female leadership is formally recognized as complementary to male, and the women are seen as men's partners within the same political and economic framework. Both styles of leadership are linked closely to notions of gender.

Just as the arena of women's leadership is gender defined, so is that of men's. The chief leader usually organizes the male collectivity in productive activities, in complementarity with female production (whether this be collective or particular). Male leaders spend much time trading with outsiders, a male form of interaction (though not thereby exclusive to men). Men are better suited physically and in terms of acquired skills for such interaction with anti-social beings. Such is the Cashinahua explanation for women's frequent lack of interest in many political matters. Such a division of political labour is not equated with a public/private division.

The notion of leader is closely allied to that of parent. An ideal father catches game and fish, and works, so that his spouse can harvest, cook, distribute food, and 'make her kin consume' (*javen nabu pimai*). In an account that I quoted extensively above, all men who hunt skillfully and work hard, enabling themselves to look after their children and wives, were classified as *xanen ibu*, leaders. Thus my informant suggested that the path to male leadership was one and the same as that to proper male gendered personhood: a good, strong man is by definition a leader [2].

Becoming a Leader (1)

In practice such men do not necessarily become the recognized leaders of their communities. In the larger communities there are several adult men seen as belonging to the category *xanen ibu kaya*, who are nevertheless content to acknowledge another man. This is because the role of chief leader is not a particularily coveted one, and there is little competition for the post. In many cases actual leaders are sons of old, retired or deceased leaders [3]. Their fathers 'groom' them for the job, and they begin whilst they are still in their early twenties. In others, a particularily strong personality might emerge as a leader, but in this case as one who sets up a new community (see below). Although factional groups do emerge sometimes in support of a new contender for village leadership, as Kensinger described, such factions tend to collapse and one or other of the groups to move out [4]. The Cashinahua attitude to factionalism therefore contrasts strongly to that of Gê peoples like the Shavante, where factionalism is at the heart of the political process and the construction of male gender [5].

Whilst theoretically women leaders achieve their status through their marriage to the chief leader, in practice this is not always the case. In formal meetings, a chief leader's wife is called upon to address the assembled community in this capacity; but on most occasions the actual work of organizing female production is assumed by or delegated to the most experienced and reliable women of the community [6]. However, the female activities of the chief leader's main wife are crucial to his role.

Actual male leaders sometimes appoint new male and female leaders, usually after prior consultation with key figures of the community. They announce their decisions in a formal meeting, asking for ratification from the participants. This is always unanimous in my experience, and the new leaders take up their tasks more or less willingly. In Recreio I observed several "assistant" male leaders and new women leaders appointed in this way. Also, Pancho appointed male leaders for the new communities, offshoots of Recreio, which at one stage were set up at downriver locations. Such "appointments" were nevertheless rather after-the-fact, a recognition of the leaders of disaffected groups who had already made plain their intention to quit Recreio [7]. Pancho was trying (ineffectively) to assert some control over the new settlements.

Chantleaders tend to be older people, who learnt the chants from close kin, often their parents. I met one younger trainee chantleader, who was being taught by his father. Few people are prepared to devote themselves to the arduous memorization of the many hours of chants that a proper *chana xanen ibu* must have at his or her fingertips, but even so a large village has several chantleaders. Many of the chantleaders I met were retired true leaders, although this is not an automatic progression, it appears. There are fewer female chantleaders than male.

Chantleaders play a part in initiating male leaders in a ritual called *chidin* (pronounced 'chireen'). This is also a funeral ritual and is held after the death of important persons, both male and female. It is always held after the death of a male leader, as Deshayes and Keifenheim, who witnessed the *chidin* held after the death of the father of the present male leader of Balta, describe [8]. *Chidin* can be described as male adult initiation, because the role of trainee male leader in the ritual can be assumed by any adult man who so desires. I have not seen a full *chidin*, which should last a fortnight, although one was held in Recreio during the period of fieldwork. I returned to the village after the trip to Peru to find that the planned ritual had already been performed. In compensation, a small version was put on for my benefit. On the basis of this, the descriptions I collected and of the recordings of the chants that I made, I offer the following description and suggestions as to possible interpretation.

Becoming a Leader (2): the *Chidin* Ritual

True male leaders (*xanen ibu kaya*) are ritually 'trained' in *chidin*. This ritual has multiple functions: as 'male initiation', as a funerary rite, as a ritual regeneration of community (see Deshayes and Keifenheim), and as a naming ceremony for the places, beings and things of the world. A *chidin* was held in Recreio in 1985 six months after the death of an important man (a chantleader and herbalist) and of the female leader, Pancho's wife. Women play an important collective role in *chidin*, but cannot be trainee leaders. There is no space here for a proper analysis of this ritual, but it merits a brief description.

The chanter leader goes to the main leader's house where he puts together the ceremonial clothes (*chidin tadi*) to be worn by the trainee leader. Whilst he works he chants "*Tete pei bakei*" (Handling eagle feathers) apparently addressing *Xanvan Jina Inka*, Macaw Tail Inca. One song is for the headress, the other for the backrack (see Figure 20). They are hung up whilst people gather. Then the trainee puts on the ceremonial harpy eagle wing feather backrack and the harpy eagle breast feather and red macaw tail feather headress. (The harpy eagle, *Navan Tete*, is associated with Inu and with Inca. Once, one man joked with me, telling me that the bird is called "Ingles Tete").

The trainee leader also wears snail shell leg rattlers and a "chest plate" made of harpy eagle tail feathers. This garb appears to make him into an Inca, it seems to me. Wearing it is called *Pekinan*, literally "carrying". The dance takes place inside the house. The "Inca" shuffles backwards in a straight line from one end of the house to the other, turning at each end and resuming the shuffle. He is bent over a little as he walks and each arm is secured by a man walking forwards guiding him and followed by other men. One of the guides is a chantleader, who also owns the feathers [9]. In a low voice he sings to the trainee, who repeats the words of the chant in a special pitch at the top of his voice, so loud that it resounds beyond the limits of the village. The chantleader is doing *pakadin*, and the trainee is shouting, *sai ika*. The other men echo the chantleader. The women form the rear guard, walking abreast, arms joined, in contrast with the men who walk in twos or single file. The women, led by their female chantleader, sing *Je*, or *pakadin*, in subdued counterpoint to the men, but with rising and falling pitch. This chanting, *pakadin*, is a powerful form of prayer, I was told.

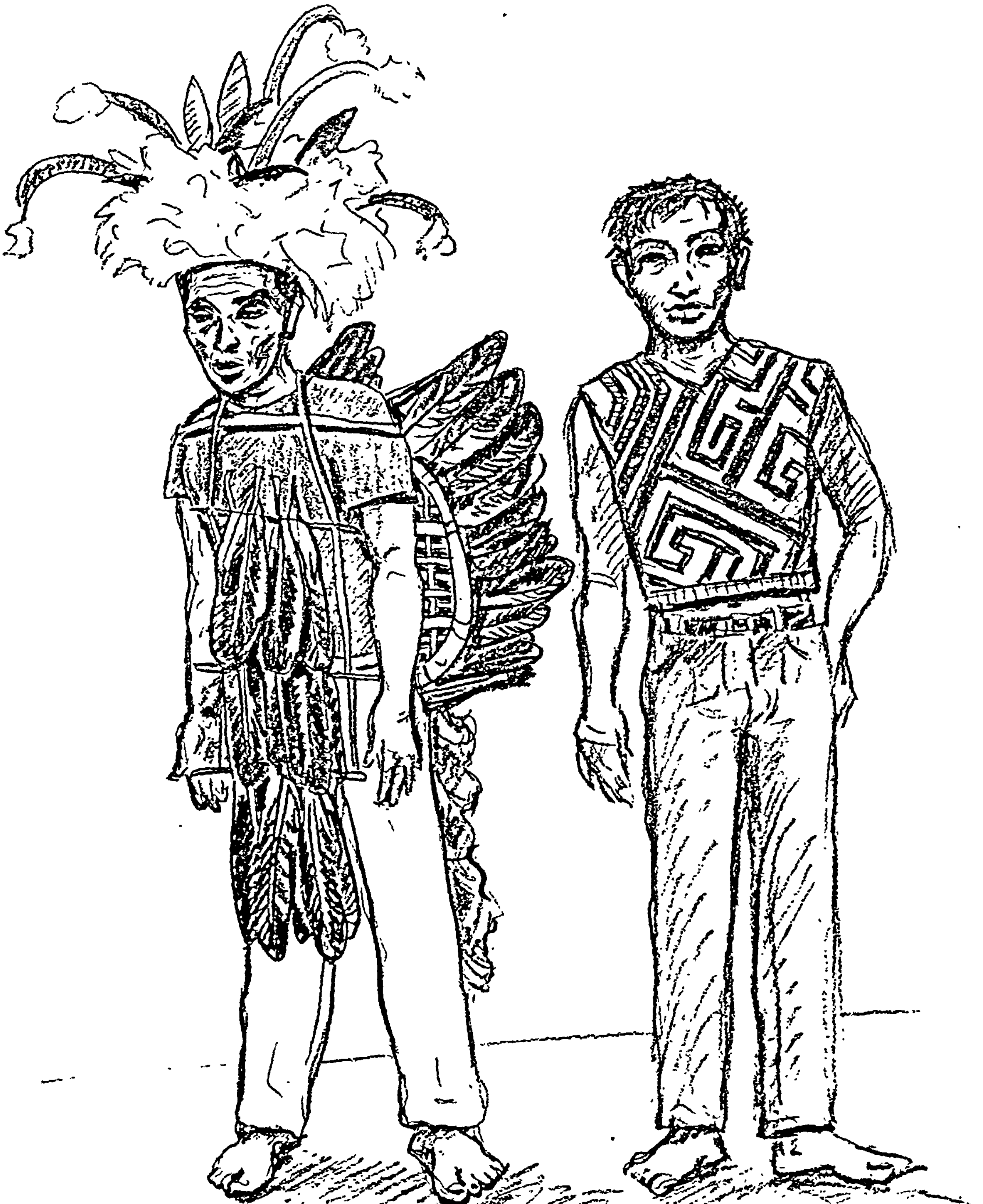


FIGURE 20: The 'Chidin' Costume (left)

In the performance put on for my benefit, the shouter/trainee leaders changed every so often. They were men who were indeed of leaderly quality; one was the Pancho's brother-in-law Mario Sampaio who at one stage was designated leader of Recreio (when Pancho had been absent for several months). Another was Pancho's MB, just arrived from Peru, and elected in a meeting only the day before as assistant leader to Pancho.

A proper Chidin lasts for about a fortnight, from dawn to dusk everyday. There are 11 separate chants each of which has a different purpose [10]. Each chant tells or refers to a set of myths. One of the 11 chants, for example, is called *Duabu*, the people of Dua. It is for the purpose of calling the fish to migrate upriver. The chantleader sings of the little fish that live at the top of the streams. He names every large river, ('*jene kaya*'), including the Purus, the Énvira, the Curanja, the Ucayali, the Jurua, the Tarauacá, and the Jordão, using Cashinahua names. (In September, at the end of the dry season, shoals of fish swim upriver and the lakes are filled with spawning fish).

If the "Inca", the trainee leader, falls whilst shuffling backwards and shouting, or if at the end of the ritual he does not divest himself of the ceremonial clothes in great haste, hurling them on the floor and together with everyone else run to "hide", he will die.

In myth, the masters of *Chidin* were the *chana*, the same birds (japim) who have given their name to the chantleader, *chana xanen ibu [11]*. They are associated in myth with Inca and Inu. In the darkness, thunder and rain, (their possessions), large flocks 'played' together, doing *chidin*, until Dua the Vulture came and dispelled them with his smell, bringing sun and day with him. (It seems that japims fly and chatter loudly at dawn). The way the people scatter at the end of the Chidin ritual brings to mind the part of the myth where the the japim birds scatter because of vulture's stench.

The danger at the end of the ritual might be explained as a flight from 'Dua' and the sun or day, a source of life. In the myth he comes because he wants to join in, and he tries to stand in the very centre of the proceedings. Is Dua hot, rotting death, whilst Inu/Inca is cold immortality? Inca is associated with movement, especially movement up (to the sky in the myth). The verb *inca* means a particular form of back and forth head movement. Dancing, *nawa*, is closely linked to Inca and the spirits and it seems that the circular dance of Kachanaua, so strikingly different from the linear action of Chidin, indicates a different kind of interaction with the spirits. Chidin is not about sex, or male-female reciprocity, as Kachanaua is. Rather it appears to be about hierarchy and to emphasize male-female complementarity within the earthly layer of the cosmos. It is about the relationship between the outside and inside like Kachanaua, but in this case the sky and underworld stand as 'outside', against the 'earth' standing for inside, rather than the forest as outside and the village as inside (as in Kachanaua - see chapter 5). Can one say that the participants are going up, as they go backwards and forwards? Do they hide and discard the Incaic clothes at the very end of a chant because they are hiding from Dua, the bringer of rotting death?

I offer these comments as suggestions and not conclusions. Without a full-length study of both the ritual and the chants, it is impossible to attempt a definitive interpretation. Nevertheless, I think it fair to take the explanation of the ritual given me by the Cashinahua at face value, all that is necessary in the context of this chapter. The men who wear the clothes of the eagle and macaw are learning the ritual knowledge of leadership, through the mediation of the chantleaders. But I think it is fair to say that as male initiation, *chidin* shows that men have a privileged relationship with the external mythic sources of power and proper death (the domain of Inca). Once again male gender is closely linked to men's special relationship with the outside.

Female leaders do not have special initiation rituals, as far as I know. This absence of ritual marking is not because female leadership is unimportant in comparison to male, but because the source of female power is not conceived as external in the same way as the source of male power (see above). Women become female leaders by virtue of being strong, producing adult persons (just as all strong productive men are '*xanen ibu*') and such a state is partly brought about by their *chichis*, women linked to them as kin (whilst men are transformed by their *chais*, men linked to them as affinal kin). But a village's female leader acquires this role through her marriage to a man who (ideally) has 'shouted' in a *chidin* ritual. His ritual training will not transform him into a leader - only his own hard work and that of his wives will accomplish that.

Male leaders as 'gatherers' of kinspeople

A true male leader, *xanen ibu kaya*, gathers people together, using his ties to siblings and other kin. Such is a familiar task of male leadership in Lowland South America [12]. By responding to such a leader's call, people choose whom their leader shall be, and whether or not to live with a leader at all. Cashinahua people do not always live in settlements with a leader - often they simply live with a few of their siblings and siblings-in-law. There is a term, *jake-* , which means "to live around a leader". It implies living with many of one's kin, instead of just a few. The leader does not gather just anybody, he is not interested in labour power like a Cariú boss. He does not use the creation of affinal ties as a primary strategy in the formation of his community, unlike other Lowland leaders such as the Piaroa or Achuar [13]. The people he calls are those he has a legitimate right to gather together, his kin. They are people who want to live together, because living apart is always painful. People often lament that distant brothers and sisters and their children might die before they could ever be with them again. As I showed in chapter 2, people miss - *manu* - their kin, and those who have been separated constantly complain about how unlucky and unhappy they are. When a powerful relative comes and calls (*kena*), then they must make the difficult decision of whether to uproot themselves and follow him. Very often they do.

> In 1985 the leader of Recreio paid a visit to his relatives who lived upriver on the Peruvian side of the border. He had not been back there since his own migration (as a result of a sorcery attempt on his life) for 8 years. At every Cashinahua village he visited he held meetings and spoke of the benefits of life on the Brazilian side of the border -

> easier access to goods, better health care, a freedom from the excesses of the Peruvian bosses and a virtually guaranteed legal claim to a large tract of land. But the real work of persuasion was carried on during the visits he paid to particular relatives' houses. By appealing to the desirability for relatives to live together, and praising all the other benefits of life in Brazil, he managed to persuade 60 people to come back downriver with him. These people included his mother's sister, her unmarried and married children, and their spouses and children; his half-brother, wives, and married and umnmarried children; 2 half-sisters and their husband and daughters, and his mother's full brother and wife. In addition, he arranged the marriage of his teenage daughter and secured the promise of his future affines to come and live with him the following year [14].

In some cases he was unable to persuade people to come. For instance his youngest sister, Isabel, after weeks of tormented indecision finally refused, because it would have meant leaving behind her husband, with whom she was, she told me, still very much in love. Other people who considered a move finally decided against it, because certain recent visitors to Recreio had been spreading stories about the village which contradicted the leader's version. Cashinahua people are used to making up their own minds and are quite prepared to believe that someone is lying. For this reason even those people who made the decision to uproot themselves and travel ten days downriver to Recreio only did so with the proviso that they might be back again the next year if they did not like it.

> The second week of our visit to Peru we arrived in Bufeo, a small settlement a few hours upriver from Conta. Pancho was led up the steep riverbank by his young 'sisters' (MZDs), and their mother, Chiquiana (his FW), who was ritually crying and saying "*En bake juaii*' "My child is come". He was taken by the arm and sat in the hammock. After being served with food, and after everyone had eaten the tortoise which he had brought as a gift for his aunt, the plates were cleared away and he began to speak. Unlike formal public meetings, men and women were not separated, and some sat in couples. His young sisters sat at his feet, touching him from time to time. He spoke very seriously, though briefly, saying that he had come to help them, out of his concern for them. When he had finished he asked his aunt, and then his sisters to speak, to say if they were well. His aunt Chiquiana spoke first, and lamented how they had had to leave the upriver village of Balta because noone had cared for them there. Although she had six young children and a baby, as a widow she had noone to hunt for them and work for them, except her son-in-law, who also had very young children to look after. Then his sisters spoke, echoing their mother. And the leader then told them that they should come and live with him, that he had come to get

> them because he had heard of the recent widowhood of his aunt (her husband had been one of his 3 fathers). He emphasized that those who came to live with him would be expected to work hard and live well, and not to drink alcohol. These remarks were addressed directly to the husband of Isabel, his sister.

Gathering people together is therefore done both by appeals to close kin and through them to affines. Although the only affine that a mother or father can legitimately insist should come to live with her or him is a son-in-law, the parents of that youth are often tempted to go with him. Male leaders, in short, are actively responsible for the formation of new communities of people who have overlapping kindreds. If the vision of endogamy based on double first cross-cousin marriage were realized, of course, such an active manufacture of community would not be necessary. Each *mae* would be a self-perpetuating kin group.

Communities of Kin

There are frequently several '*xanen ibu kaya*' in each village, but in all communities there is only one chief leader [15]. His house is located in the centre of the settlement, and is more imposing than its neighbours. It is the 'pole' around which the community has been formed, and from an outsider's point-of-view is identifiable by its function of receiving new visitors to the village. The person who is in charge is usually the leader's main wife, although if the visitors are strange men and there is another adult man at home when they arrive they might be taken to his house instead. In the absence of a suitable man she invites them into her house (*"Inayuve!"*), and makes some gesture towards hospitality, depending on who they are and how she evaluates their relationship. As the place where most community events take place, where collective meals are held daily when the spirit of community is strong in the village, her house becomes a focus of sociality for insiders as well as outsiders. Such sociality, as I have shown, can only be produced by a couple in a relation of marriage, and connected by mutual parenthood. Parents, like leaders have a centrifugal role, standing at the centre of their houses in the production of kinship.

The popularity of the Yaminahua term for leader amongst the Cashinahua, 'standing still person' (*nai ibu*) is perhaps explained by the way it sums up the centrifugal role of the Cashinahua leader. "*Ibu*" means parent and also owner (see Chapters 2 and 3). As *ibu* of the village, the leader must be especially good at hunting and fishing, and must have a large and well cared for garden, so that he can fulfil his responsibility to feed his co-residents. In the same vein, one term for leader is *bata ibu*, literally 'sweet parent', someone endowed with the virtues of generosity and kindness. In oratory, leaders sometimes address their people as "*En Bakebu*", ("My Children") [16]. Main leaders are always married, usually polygynously, and always parents. A polygynous man is by implication a *xanen ibu* man, for an ability to have much responsibility and many children suggests an ability to lead communities. A leader is a "big man" and as such can take on the added responsibility of more wives and children than other men could bear. Neither men nor women see polygyny as disadvantageous to women. Where one man marries sisters, their mother is more likely to enjoy continued coresidence with both. The wives themselves can depend upon each other for help in all kinds of ways. Jealousy (conceived of as 'miserliness', being *yauxi*) is thought to be immoral [17]. Co-wives cooperate in the responsibilities of female leadership, although only the eldest is formally the female leader. Male and female leaders together articulate the economic processes of production and consumption which constitute social organization. In this way the couple underpin the progress of 'community'. In this system, it is as metaphorical parents that they can legitimately make themselves different from their coresident kin, and appeal to a kind of authority that is both necessary and at times dangerous to the manufacture of kinship. It is to this that I now turn.

Section 2: Authority, Hierarchy, Refusal

Male and female leaders together stand at the centre of community, exercising an important influence on the smooth unfolding of the social process. One means of doing this is through their 'authority' to guide and teach others. In this section I examine the nature of authority in Cashinahua society showing that legitimate authority exercized as teaching, or making, is distinct from but not exclusive of authority as control or coercion. Authority as teaching can appear, to a visitor such as myself, to be highly coercive at times, yet such an interpretation would usually, I argue, be mistaken.

This does not mean that authority as teaching on the one hand and as coercion on the other are incompatible. On the contrary, the Cashinahua think that indigenous access to coercive power is necessary for the security of the community. In contrast to Clastres, I argue that indigenous American social organization does not preclude the occasional manifestation of a coercive style of leadership *per se [18].* Instead, I describe manifestations of such leadership which, whilst having been stimulated by recent economic and political changes, nevertheless cannot be understood outside of a specifically indigenous context. I examine how in certain cases leaders exercising legitimate authority strain at the bounds of their mandates and attempt to cross over into a relatively coercive form of leadership within the community. These two different but not mutually incompatible kinds of leadership are summed up by the Cashinahua in their use of the terms which I gloss as "leader" and "boss" (from Cashinahua *xanen ibu*, and Portuguese patrão respectively).

Despite such economic innovations as the cooperatives, no person controls another's labour or the products of his or her labour via institutionalized dependency as in Cariú seringais (see chapter 1 for a discussion of the aviamento system). The knowledge and ability to produce is a monopoly of adults and forms the basis of their authority over the young. Monopolies of knowledge similarily underlie the possibility of coercive relations between coop leader and coop members. The tuxaua (chief leader) acquires knowledge of powerful city people, politics and sources of money and goods which no other man can rival. Legitimate authority is an aspect of passing on knowledge to the young. It may become very like coercion when it comes to controlling the sex lives of adolescents, as described above. But forcing other adults to do things that otherwise they would not have done is beyond a leader's mandate. The chief leader could use his privileged relations with city sources of capital and power to do this. For example, Pancho sometimes suggested he would call the police in to imprison some wrongdoer. However, as I will show, there are many forces which counteract him if he attempts to behave coercively in this way.

Coercion, backed up by force, is only legitimate when dealing with aggressive outsiders (as is general in Lowland cultures). Transactions with them are clouded by the possible use of violence. Although nowadays dealings with the Cariú or the Yaminahua rarely come to blows, people remember the 'criminal' violence of their fathers and grandfathers in detail. This violence was reciprocal and nowadays its counterpart, coercion, is equally reciprocal, though sometimes in less obvious form. The concept of 'boss' is linked to this coercive form of social relations. The boss is seen as a user of illegitimate, coercive power, whereas the leader is seen as a user of legitimated power. Legitimation stems from mutual caring and illegitimacy accompanies the absence of caring (see discussion of appropriation and responsibilty in the previous chapter). Leaders may be leaders because they are kin. Similarily, their authority may be rejected by virtue of a kinship relationship. Kin may never coerce each other or behave violently to each other. Thus the ideas and feelings about kinship that sustain the model of leadership also provide the model for political refusal of authority. When a leader becomes unbearable to live with, his coresidents are able to appeal to the morality of kinship to assert their own independence. The authoritarian leader is behaving like non-kin and as such his kin may abandon him. They are able to leave, provided they have several adults of both sexes to take with them, to set up their own settlement [19].

Given the amount of work involved in setting up a new settlement and the wealth in houses and cleared forest left behind, decisions to move are not taken lightly. But the Cashinahua are independent minded people and move surprisingly frequently. People sometimes move as a refusal to put up with a leader's authoritarian attitude. But sometimes they decide to stay despite it because they wish to remain with their kin. The ability to move out, dependent firstly on access to land and secondly on support from kin and affines, does not necessarily mean that a total independence is secured, for example when the leader in question retains access to the city and its wealth. But it does mean that coercive behaviour has serious practical limits.

Those who are unable to set themselves up in a separate settlement, such as children, widows, old people, and the chronically sick are by no means subject to total control by a coercive leader or adult. Children can refuse to obey orders, adults can evade them and the authoritarian leader himself is fully aware of the dislike of an overly forceful approach. He knows the limits of his exercise of power, rarely forgetting that his mandate is to look after his 'family' the community. If he appears to be feeding himself and his own immediate family at other's expense, he knows he will find himself alone, abandoned even by the closest of his kin.

Male leaders stand out from other men, projecting more powerful images. This imagery of size appears in descriptions of the past. I was told that leaders were truely powerful ('*mentsisipa*'), large and often violent men who killed many enemies and who slept in huge hammocks slung from the highest rafters of the maloca. They had 5 or 6 wives, whom they could support because they were tremendous hunters and workers. A modern male leader should be a kind of superhusband and superfather responsible for everyone in his community and not just his immediate family. Leaders are marked, standing out from other people like a mother or a father stands out for a child. But, like parents and children, they are marked as "of the same kind" rather than as "of another kind". There is no objectification of leader and followers, controller and controlled, manipulator and manipulated [20]. The *xanen ibu* or *bata ibu* is of the same kind as his people and ideally relations with them should only be marked by caring and love. In this ideology there is no place for exploitation. There is, however, a proper place for hierarchy.

I have shown how a parent exercises authority over her or his children in work situations and how such authority is extended to other young people who are taking part in the work. This authority, I said, was expressed most clearly in reprimands uttered by the senior person when some task was carried out wrongly. Asymmetrical relations between co-workers result in the appropriation of a product by the senior person, who is then able to control its distribution, within the limits of propriety. However these asymmetries are not constant and are seen as part of a teaching process whereby the ignorant young are made capable of working and looking after their kin, and with time, their own enfeebled parents and parents-in-law. When the once authoritative parents are too weak to work hard, they become like children once more in that they must be looked after. However this is not a reversion to childhood; old people are also the ritually powerful grandparents who look after their daughter's children with an extra affection and who teach them the skills they need to become proper, gendered adults.

Parents, Grandparents and Rebellious Children

Parental authority, (also exercised by elder siblings and parents-in-law) is the model for leaderly authority. Like parents, leaders give orders, *yunu*, to their people, and like them, leaders must "grow" their people and care for them. When they are unruly, they must admonish them and teach them (*meke*) 'the correct way to live' - *jive pe*.

The paradigmatic hierarchical relation is the parent-child relationship [21]. Relations between grandparents and grandchildren are ideally not authoritative, even though they are also pedagogical. Grandparents teach their grandchildren and care for them, but they should rarely have to tell them off. This is the province of the parents and the elder siblings. Grandparents have a close and affectionate relationship with the childen, generally unhindered by the need to exercise control over them. Ironically parents are at their most coercive when they attempt to make their children produce grandchildren (see above).

The use of kinship address terminology produces an effect which I have described in chapter 2 as a hierarchization into marked elders and generic youth. Thus the young are addressed by moiety name, whilst they reciprocate with the correct kin term. Since most cross-generational cooperation in productive activities involves persons in adjacent generations, this use of moiety terms reciprocated by specific kin terms emphasizes the hierarchical and authoritative quality of the relationships involved. Parental pedagogy is informal, except when the child has misbehaved seriously (see chapter 2). In contrast, the grandparent ideally teaches in a formal style in the private rituals which are part of the process of transforming the unskilled child into a young adult person. The marker of the start of the transformation is the initiation ceremony *nixpo pima*. This is held at a time when the child is beginning to be able to act on its own accord. Children experience an increasing ability to assert their independence from their parents at this time. When very young, children are constantly frustrated because their parents leave them behind in the house. But by about 7 years old children are capable of going on long expeditions, avoiding the hazards of the forest such as stinging ants and spines. They no longer complain about mosquitoes, long delays, and so on. This self-restraint means that their company on an expedition might be more useful than not to adults. Such self-restraint is a vital aspect of personhood and a crucial feature of Cashinahua political life [22].

This is the age when girls are expected to really begin to work, washing clothes, fetching water, helping with harvesting and cooking. in contrast boys have a few years grace. But their mothers and elder sisters ask them to fish or hunt on occasion and by about 11 years old they are competent if unreliable producers of meat. Boys under 12 have more independence than girls and spend relatively more time playing in groups. In Peru, children frequently spend 4 hours a day at school. Children are often willing to do the tasks their elders assign, an enthusiasm prompted perhaps by a desire to be seen as skilled and adult. Occasions also arise when the child is unwilling to do as requested and puts up resistance. In these conflicts, the parent or elder sibling stops short of forcing the child to obey. Children are never forced to work or to go to school against their will. Parents think that school attendance is up to the child. People will try and persuade children, but not force them.

If a child has done something wrong, a form of corporal punishment might be used as a teaching device. There are many words in Cashinahua for striking the various parts of the body, and these actions signify a variety of corrective measures [23]. For example, the illustration for '*mapais akiki*', ('to strike on the head lightly'), in Montag (1981) is: "*Nukun bake mikan nun mapais amiski*" (When are children choke (through eating too fast) we hit them gently on the head). Choking, stumbling, hurting oneself, dropping something are expected and permissable in young children, but are seen as minor crimes when done by older children. Parents reprimand them angrily with a few hissed words. Alternatively, everyone roars with laughter and later on the story is repeated to the culprit's chagrin. Only when the accident is obviously serious does the parent's dismay overtake the first reaction of annoyance or amusement. When children will not stop crying, mothers hit them gently on the mouth, *kepasikiki* or *janpaisikiki*, to teach them to be self-contained. Hitting someone gently is a kindly form of corrective, but there is a definite sense of punishment when the striking is hard. Dogs are always beaten for pestering people while they eat or for stealing food. Once, I saw a mother sit her adolescent daughter down in front of her to deliver a stern lecture about her slackness in working and about rumours that she had been carrying on with a parallel cousin. She then hit her several times, hard, on her arms (*punpais akiki*).

Such corrective measures can only be applied in a controlled sense, and only by the parent. Where applied excessively, other people do not hesitate to condemn the violence. Furthermore, it is only possible to correct a child or young adolescent in this way. When one adult decides to attack another physically, everyone is appalled. Such mutual violence always leads to the departure of one of the people involved from the settlement. In this horror of violence against each other, the Cashinahua contrast with such peoples as the Yanomami or the Achuar, and resemble others such as the Piaroa [24].

The independent and frequently obstinate nature of children and adolescents is tempered only with the coming of responsibility, after marriage and parenthood. People do work harder, more carefully and less resentfully, when they reach a fully adult stage of their lives. However this attitude does not mean they are always prepared to listen to others. People make up their own minds and when they are in a position to do so, behave as they please. Women who do not like their husbands can leave to live with another man, even when they have many children. A young bridegroom can go home if he is unhappy in his wife's house. If a man does not care for cutting rubber, he can decide to move house to an isolated settlement where he can raise pigs for sale. Despite unpaid debts elsewhere, people sell chickens on the sly to passing river traders. No amount of lecturing from leaders can stop such independent behaviour and people say it is up to each person to decide who they live with and who they work for. Even the most moralistic or authoritarian of male leaders support this attitude. This positive evaluation of personal autonomy has been frequently noted in Lowland South American cultures [25].

Qualities of Leadership

Male leaders are persons who are most likely to be 'bad', to take advantage of their privileged position with regard to the external sources of wealth and power. Yet, as leaders, they are expected to have exceptional and 'good' personal qualities. A good person is thoughtful, *xinanya*, which means generous and kind, like *duapa*. He or she should be *xinanika* (trustworthy and faithful). In order for life to be lived peacefully and properly (*jive pe*), people ought to behave thoughtfully. Anger, violence, insulting, greed, lying, and stealing are all disparaged by the Cashinahua, although at the same time they often accuse each other of these things. Angry people (*juni sinata*) epitomize the opposite of *xinanya*. They are thoughtless and crazy, (*unainsmapa*).

One of the most important tasks of a male leader is to think, to plan in advance, *xinanikiki*. It is on this basis that he can organize major collective activities such as poison-fishing, rituals, or village maintenance. Planning a strategy for securing title to the land, for increasing the size of the village, for moving houses from one area to another, are all *xinanikiki*. A person who thinks is a responsible person (*xinanika*), a mature person who is able to look after the interests of others. Thinking has connotations of the future - the term for 'afterwards' is, literally, "thinking done" (*xinanxun*). It also has connotations of the past, of memory, and in fact *xinan* is also the term for "to remember". Finally, it means "to believe; to trust", and is used when talking about the reliability of other people, as well as by Baptists in describing faith in God [26].

A good leader would have force and accuracy, but should never overstep the bounds of correct and generous behaviour. The Cashinahua dislike overbearing and imperious people. However, male leaders who are good at planning, organizing and protecting their people are frequently inclined to overstep the limits of acceptable authority.

One Cashinahua word for leader or boss is *tsuma*. This same word, the literal meaning of which is, in verb form, to hold or grasp, also means servant. Usually "servant" is applied to children, but it has also come to mean the endebted clients or wage labourers of a Cariú boss. The dual usage of *tsuma* suggests that the leader is simultaneously the boss and the servant of the community. There is a sense of "holder" and "held", "owner" (like *ibu*) and "owned". This image implies both contiguity and likeness, and also separation and difference, in the same way that children are like/part of their parents and are made to be separate from them (see above). Leaders are like their people, close kinsmen, but also different from them, foreign. As kin, they should be in some way servants, people who work for others without return, like the Nambiquara servant-chiefs discussed by Lévi-Strauss (1967). But as 'outsiders', they sit still whilst others in their debt work for them, as I shall describe.

Another word used in relation to the leader is *meke-*, to look after, save something; to teach to be just and good. This is precisely what the leader does in his speeches (see below). Of interest here is the etymology of the word. *Meken* is hand, so again there is a connection between holding, teaching and being a leader. Another term for leader is *mekenan*. 'one who looks after, retains'. It is not used reciprocally, however, like *tsuma*.

The word *tsuma* is also used as "follower" or "subject" of a leader. It seems to me that insofar as these "subjects" are seen to be like the leader, the relationship between them is characterized by legitimate and caring authority; insofar as they are seen to different, then the relationship is characterized as coercive, non-caring and ultimately violent. We thus have the equation of inside (sameness) with legitimate authority, and outside (difference) with coercive authority.

I wish to emphasize that for the Cashinahua male leaders are both insiders and outsiders, both similar to and different from their coresident kinspeople. In the recent past the Cashinahua were led by powerful foreigners at certain moments, for example by Felizardo Cequiera of the Jordão [27]. Such foreign leaders ought to make themselves insiders by behaving like kin and affines, eating Cashinahua food, learning the language like SIL missionaries, or marrying in. Whenever a missionary or anthropologist comes to spend time in a village, there is a tendency to make him or her into a leader. Thus, I found myself put in charge of the village coop within a month of my arrival in Recreio. The FUNAI agents of Fronteira participated in the leadership of the village. But this always ended in tears (and the agents' departure) after a few months, because they usually refused to eat Cashinahua food, learn the language, behave generously or in short to act socially. One woman of Recreio told me "You are our *tsuma*, just as the SIL missionaries were once our *tsuma* in Balta." Like the missionaries, I was both a powerful outsider and a kind of insider, a Nawa living as kin. In meetings or after supper talk, I came to be called '*Nukun Nawa*', 'Our Nawa'.

The Cashinahua often say they need powerful leaders. The source of their power is recognized to be external to the community, as the following story shows:

> When the leader of Recreio, Pancho, went upriver to Peru, gathering relatives, many of his fellow villagers decided that they had had enough of his prolonged absences and the high-handed way that he ran the coop and the clinic. They decided to choose a new leader, his brother-in-law, an inexperienced Inu man. However when the leader returned from Peru he was greeted as normal. That night the young men who had decided to get rid of him came to me and explained what they wanted, asking me to write a letter to the "Pro-Indian Commission" in Rio Branco, so that FUNAI and the leader of the Catholic political support group, CIMI, should know their decision and support them. The young "new" leader was to travel to Rio Branco at the first opportunity, to let everyone know that the old leader had been deposed.

The attempt failed, not only because Pancho had brought back a large group of his own family, but also because his brother-in-law did not make the journey to the city. Pancho, an experienced and travelled man, had all of the confidence, knowledge and skill in dealing with outsiders that his brother-in-law lacked. These skills are absolutely necessary in a successful leader. They tend to be his exclusive possession, which only he has the time and opportunity to develop, so it becomes very difficult to depose him. Yet no matter how powerful a Cashinahua leader, he is always kin to his people: a leader's legitimate authority is not an absolute opposite to his coercive power; there is a continuum between the two. He must be forceful and confident in his dealings with both inside and outside, though these abilities are seen as coming from a relation with difference, from outside.

Coerciveness, violence, miserliness, theft, or simple mistrust characterize relations with the outside. However coercive power is not thought of as a 'possession' of the outsiders; rather their knowledge is an exclusive possession which makes them powerful. Here, like elsewhere in Amazonia, this monopoly is explained in myth. In mythic times 'Indians' chose to learn how to garden, hunt, and fish, whilst the Nawa chose to learn how to make machines [28]. Yet this latter knowledge must now be acquired by Cashinahua people and put to good use, in the production of a healthy sociality amongst kin, which does not merely exist but which progresses. The Cashinahua see external knowledge (like writing, religion and mechanics) as fundamental in the strengthening of social life. Human (Cashinahua) sociality is characterized by a form of social relations opposed to coercion then, but requiring forces linked to coercion for its production. Such a dynamic vision of history is the Cashinahua theory of the making of the 'inside'.

Leaders are pivotal in this process. Pancho was brought up in part by Nawa who live by the Purus on the Peru-Brazil frontier, and it seems likely that his apprenticeship as leader began during this unhappy time. Later he spent a year in Yarinacocha, the SIL missionary base, training as a bilingual teacher. He abandoned this career but adopted the Baptist faith and became a pastor. He thus had not only practical skills of language and experience of the world of the Nawa, but also Nawa ritual and moral knowledge. Whilst the people of Recreio recognize his worth in all these respects, they constantly fret under the accompanying irritation of his tendency to try and impose his will upon them. Forcefulness is necessary, but when it begins to turn into coercive power, it is unacceptable. In the end, all Nawa style bosses are unbearable. The leader may well acquire force from the outside, but he should also be of the inside, the very centre, the pole that attracts scattered kin to live together (*jake* to live around a leader) and should be sweet and caring, *bata ibu*, a true parent, of the same kind as us.

Section 3: Authority, Power and Language

In this section I discuss the dynamic interaction between language and concepts of power and authority in relation to sociality. I argue that male and female leaders ought ideally to be 'strong', but that only male leaders are required to be strong or fierce against outsiders. I suggestt that whereas female leaders produce sociality through food, male leaders are expected to produce a propensity for moral social behaviour through words, in homelitic speech [29]. In an analysis of two meetings I witnessed in the AIAP I give a brief account of such speech, which I discuss in more detail elsewhere (McCallum ms2). I point out the importance of the innovative use of Portuguese idioms in political oratory, both in the construction of sociality and in related political initiatives about land and access to economic resources (see 'Meeting 2 below). Such linguistic innovation is more characteristic of male than female speech, because one aspect of male strength is knowledge of the outside, including foreigner's language. In Section 4 I turn to the uses to which this knowledge is put in the cooperatives and in exchange relations in general.

McCallum (ms 2) concerns the use of two contrasting imported idioms of power in contemporary Cashinahua discourse. Certain ideas embodied in these Portuguese (or Spanish) idioms, in words such as 'police', are linked to a hierarchical form of political organization (the Brazilian state and Cariú social relations within the extractive economic system). I show that some leaders use them approvingly (in private discourse) as suggesting possible future methods of creating sociality, whilst others use them with disapproval to contrast with proper sociality. For example, one coop leader says that a greater ability to enforce productive quotas upon his kinspeople would be beneficial to the community, whereas another specifically denies that his role is comparable to that of the Cariú boss. Despite these apparently contradictory stances, I suggested, both leaders subscribe to the same fundamental notion of sociality, which precludes, ultimately, the possibility of coercive relationships between coresident people. In political oratory, firstly, this ethic is apparent in an absence of the private 'coercive speech' employed by some leaders. Secondly, leaders bow down to the dictates of the social ethic in their use of homelitic techniques in their speeches. Constant reiteration of moral values sustaining kinship (such as the value of individual production), only has the power to directly affect individuals who have flagrantly contravened the kinship ethic in the first place. Leaders have most power to influence when those who listen to their words are in agreement with them; and very little when they are not [30].

Male leader's strength is gauged to a large degree according to linguistic ability. A leader must know how to talk both to foreigners and to his people effectively and persuasively. Both Purus leaders are forceful speakers, and Pancho, leader of Recreio, described his role thus:

> 'One has to speak clearly, know how to give orders, be hard. A tame leader is no good, no sir. Noone wants to obey. Its useless! It's a responsibility, I don't want to be leader, I want to be a hard-working man, make my house, clean my garden, like the others. Being a leader is suffering' [31]

Pancho is a good leader because he is 'strong' - though not physically (he is small in stature, less fit than those who work and hunt regularily and his eyesight is bad, making him a poor shot). It is partly his ability to think straight and intelligently, to plan, to act decisively and forcefully when necessary, and to speak clearly and with authority, that makes him strong. A leader's strength comes from knowledge gained in two ways, by ritual (as I described above); and from experience of the world. A good male leader ought to know how to speak Portuguese and/or Spanish, and to read and write, in other words to handle foreigner's language. He should know how to do accounts, handle an outboard engine, buy and sell in the city, get around by boat, bus and plane, and help his kin with their pensions, bank accounts, healthcare and so on. Various terms are used for strong: forte or fuerte (used as loan words in Cashinahua frequently; '*mentsisipa*' in Cashinahua). The chief male leader must also be brave and fearless ('*dateama*'). He must even be capable of initiating violence on occasion, and able to behave fiercely, that is to be *puben*. This readiness to fight must only be directed towards the outside. Most of the time leaders ought to be attacking anger and violence, trying to prevent it. It should be a latent aspect of the leader's strength, part of his ability not only to think and plan, but also to act. I can find no evidence that a defining quality of peacetime leadership is the role of 'warrior'. In this perhaps Cashinahua leaders contrast to Gê and Jivaroan, whose 'big men' are constantly engaged in violent 'factionalism' and in chronic warfare [32].

Female leaders should also be strong, but in striking contrast to male leaders they are never fierce or fearless. The occasional necessity to act violently against foreigners is a male task. An effect of the genderization of social interaction is that on the whole women do not deal closely with non-Cashinahua strangers outside of their homes, leaving this to the men (they do participate actively in inter-village visiting as I described in chapter 3). This is reflected in the terminology used by men and women to address Panoan speaking strangers, primarily the Sharanahua and other Yaminahua. Men call each other brother-in-law, *chai* but they either call women nothing, avoiding conversation; or they use *chipi*, elder sister. Women may, if they wish, address strangers as *ba*, friend. Male address terms for men stress distance and the possibility of kinship; whereas female address terms for strangers avoid the subject of affinity. Most often, women simply do not speak to Yaminahua strangers, who do not speak to them either. Cashinahua women avoid the Kulina but some women do enjoy limited interchange with Cariú people who visit them and whom they visit [33]. When strangers come as visitors to a village, the female leader (the male leader's wife in this case) is responsible for feeding them. Women participate in inter-village or inter-ethnic affairs, then, as hostesses and their role as cooks and as the persons directly responsible for hospitality is crucial. When female leaders actively interact with outsiders, they do so in a situation productive of sociality, and diametrically opposed to the situations of tension and conflict in which male leaders might find themselves when travelling outside the settlement.

In Portuguese, the term for 'giving orders' is mandar, a term of which Pancho is fond (see above quote and also McCallum [op cit]). It is directly translatable in Cashinahua as *yunu*; but the kind of action that *yunu* describes takes place in a relation of kinship and is non-coercive in nature. Parents may order their children, their young children-in-law, and adults may order their young siblings, husbands their wives ('Bring food!' and wives their husbands ('Bring firewood!). Similarily *xanen ibu* may give orders. This is no new thing; in Capistrano de Abreu such there are many descriptions of leaders issuing commands, whether in the building of a new house, the organization of a collective fishing expedition, or the arranging of the *kacha* dance. Such orders have force because they are not contested by those who comply with them, but welcomed; and also because they usually refer to highly moral activities, especially those involved in production. The force of mandar in Cariú culture is quite different from the same term, or its indigenous equivalent, in Cashinahua culture. Cashinahua leaders are well aware of the difference and able to use such idioms in conflicts with Cariú if necessary.

Men have more experience than women of being given orders by a Cariú boss. They worked directly under these patrões when the Cashinahua produced rubber, caucho, or timber within the aviamento system. In 1985 this system was still functioning, and some Cashinahua men (and to a lesser extent women) were directly involved in it. However many more people had switched to selling their produce through an indigenous cooperative run by their own male leaders.

In the following account of two meetings, I show how a male leader's position is tied up with the workings of the cooperative, (a subject discussed in the next section in some detail). Much of what goes on in meetings is to do with the economic affairs of cooperatives, although many other subjects are raised too (see Table 5). People participate only in the discussion of those matters that concern them directly and for this reason some meetings are attended or some topics discussed only by one sex. An important characteristic of all meetings is the use of homelitic speech by male leaders. In their oratory, they reiterate constantly the basic moral principles of Cashinahua sociality, teaching (as they call it) their people to 'live properly' - *jive pe*. Such, I argue, is a basic means of community creation, which acts upon the moral nature of each person to 'make goodness'.

In the first meeting discussed below, a leader teaches his people in an extended homelitic speech to live morally. The rhetoric of moral living is directly employed in enjoining people to work hard at specified tasks which the male leader planned for himself and the community. He also uses a general moralizing approach in a discussion of a particular problem caused by the violent drunken behaviour of one man. The meeting is rounded up by a homelitic speech from a female leader. In the second meeting, between persons from several settlements in the AIAP, modern Portuguese idioms of social progress are used within the traditional homelitic framework, and to similar effect. In this meeting one leader attempts to persuade residents of a nearby settlement to sell their rubber through his village's coop. The meeting is generally concerned with the cominy year's organization of commodity production in the AIAP,

TABLE 5: TOPICS IN POLITICAL MEETINGS [34]

Matters mainly the concern of men
*The organization of rubber production, including allocation of estradas, fiscalization of cutting, distribution of tools.
*The sale of rubber.
*Conflicts with outsiders over rubber, such as river traders poaching the coops rubber.
*Residence disputes.
*Literacy classes for men, and the training and paying of male teachers.
*Work strategies for the future, such as the banning or encouragement of livestock raising, the site and size of new gardens, the planting on beaches of cash crops.
*Disputes with Kulina and Cariu.
*Land demarcation and the fight for legal titling.

Matters of concern to both men and women
*Disputes between Cashinahua individuals, including fights, murders and wife-beating.
*Marriages and divorces.
*The abuse of alcohol.
*Theft.
*Economic projects and financial aid (from FUNAI, OXFAM, etc.).
*The purchase and distribution of industrial goods and consumables through the cooperative.
*Schooling and the training and payment of teachers for children.
*Healthcare and the allocation of free medicines.

Matters mainly of concern to women
*The stimulation of handicraft production.
*Schooling and the paying and training of teachers for women.

and in Recreio in particular. Both village leaders are attempting to improve output. Both see the only way forward as a strengthening of 'unity' and of personal regognition of responsibility for the social progress of the 'community'. In this latter meeting several persons speak showing that they consider that the coop is the personal endeavour of the chief male leader, and not 'community property'. In contrast to the first meeting, there is direct criticism of the personal behaviour of main leaders, to which the leaders are quick to reply. In the following account of the first internal village meeting, it should be borne in mind that despite their homelitic rhetoric, male leaders are never considered to be above criticism.

Meeting 1: Internal Village Matters

At the end of March 1984, Pancho decided that he must make a trip to the city. He had been called to attend a meeting organized by the volunteer bodies in conjunction with the regional branch of UNI [35]. He planned to take the opportunity to sell handicrafts and some rubber, to attend to the sick who were there, and take more sick people with him for treatment. He also wanted to take his old mother, and one of his fathers-in-law, to sign up for their old age pensions. He called a meeting in order to instruct his people for the period he was to be away, which would last at the very least a month. I was told that this is normal procedure.

The meeting was held after supper one evening. Not everybody attended, their excuse being that it was raining hard that night. There was no summoning, such as shouting or blowing a whistle, since the word had already gone out that they should come as soon as supper was over. People arrived in small family groups, in the pitch blackness, some holding guttering kerosene lamps, the women sheltering under large black umbrellas. Soon about 30 adults had arrived. As usual young women with babies did not bother to attend.

The men sat on benches against the wall, and down the side of the house. The leader's MB - a visitor from Peru, schoolteacher, pastor and leaderly man - sat in the one hammock, slung on the opposite side of the house. Pancho, his nephew, sat beside him on a stool. The women sat on the floor, from the hammock around to the line of men opposite it. In the middle of the floor a single kerosene lamp cast a weak circle of light in the space around it, and on the faces of the participants. Pancho spoke first. He told everyone that they should work hard, clearing their gardens, hunting and fishing, and also working cotton and collecting rubber. No man should mistreat his wife, or drink caxasa (sugar-cane rum). If one of their children stole something, they should not keep it but return it via his eldest wife, (who was the female leader). He was going away for their benefit, to "make politics", and his journey meant much suffering and little reward. He would be unable to make his own house or mark out his new garden and he asked them to do this, collectively, for him.

Pancho's MB spoke in support of him, lecturing the listeners on the virtues of working hard and on the need to help their leader with the work he would be unable to do. (Although Pancho's 'affine', this man was not his father-in-law, and was not at this time in any way senior to Pancho. The two men were of the same generation, friends and allies, and subscribed to similar views of life, ardent Baptists both.) None of the other men spoke much, agreeing to the arrangement that Pancho's brother-in-law, Zé Augusto Junior, would take over the direction of collective work and other such affairs whilst Pancho was away. Zé spoke briefly, affirming that he would help.

Pancho's mother-in-law, Dona Maria, then spoke, at first in a very low voice, but gradually raising her voice as she became more heated. She complained that her youngest son-in-law, with whom she was coresident, had mistreated her daughter (maltratar used also as a loan word in Cashinahua; also, *ichaka*). He was alleged to have got drunk and struck her. Dona Maria spoke at length about how she and her daughter worked hard for his benefit, carrying water, washing clothes, fetching manioc, cooking and looking after his young son.

The leader replied. The culprit sat head bowed amongst the men. He was from the Envira river and had only one close relative in Recreio itself. Pancho had opposed his marriage but, as he told me in private, his mother-in-law was a crazy old fool and determined to have her own way. He spoke generally ('homelitic speech'). No man should mistreat his wife. He referred to another incident where another man, also a distant relative only, had struck his teenage wife after getting drunk. Then the other elder women spoke, supporting Dona Maria. The culprit himself apologized and said it would not happen again. It was decided that he would cease from building a separate house for himself and his young wife (located 10 metres away from his parents-in-laws' house) and move back with his *dais*, living under the mother-in-law's eye. He agreed to this. Dona Maria made a final speech, accepting this decision, and finally her eldest daughter, Pancho's wife, rounded off the proceedings.

Her speech, one of two I heard by a female leader addressing the whole village, men and women, was of the same tenor as the other. She said that they must consider Pancho to be the father of the village, listen to his words, and do as he said. He was looking after their interests. As she spoke, she stood beside him, and then sat down again, leaning on his lap.

In the meeting, the leader arranged for the caring of his family and the collective carrying out of the personal work he would be unable to do during his months away. His brother-in-law agreed to direct this work, and also to take charge of the collective affairs of the village in his place. The meeting was also used as a forum to resolve an intra-household dispute, the general cause of which had already been condemned by the leader during his homelitic discourse - (Alcohol consumption leads to violence).

The leader's teaching discourse did not offer any moral judgements about which other people might disagree in public. Noone would dispute that drinking is disruptive; noone could fail to disapprove of violence, lying, theft and laziness. Everyone feels that men and women should look after each other and their children. They listen to him insisting that they act out these precepts, which they already know so well and which they have heard so often before; and yet they know that they are just as likely to go against them soon as other people listening with them are. Nevertheless it is important to listen and for everyone to hear the words together.

Living an ethical life, *jive pekunkain*, is a constant struggle and part of the process of being ethical is to constantly relearn the rules; just as a village, *mae*, is never a static formation, so the goodness of the way life is lived in a place is unstable. It either decays or grows. The leader, with his words, "grows" the goodness of his people, just as a parent "grows" her or his child with food, words, punishment and love.

There is no doubt that Pancho manipulates his moral discourse in an effort to manipulate his people and that he is often successful at this. During the three months he was away subsequent to this meeting, not only were his wife and children fed (which would have happened anyway) but a house was built for them, a garden cleared and a peanut beach planted. People were willing to work, to perform hard physical labour for Pancho, because they knew he was fetching goods for them from the city. Fetching goods does not constitute work (as he claims), so such aquiescence does not involve exchange of labour for labour; rather, both the fetching and the working involve caring for a kinsperson, and are obligation prior to any idea of exchange, of tit for tat.

A proper leader should work harder than most, so people see their labour as being in spite of his lack of reciprocity, and not as reciprocity of service against service. This is one view of the modern male leader, a 'hunter' who fetches things but does not make them, so a man only half worthy of respect since he does not work. Although the leader performs innumerable services for his people whilst in the city (and quite a few for himself alone too) the only visible sign of his actions whilst away are the things he brings back with him. It is his entry to the village bearing merchandise that is marked, not his activities in acquiring it.

Teaching, organizing, manipulating are therefore all linked and this mingling of purposes is quite clear to the Cashinahua. They are inclined, more often than not, to scepticism about the purposes of their leader. The ideal, what he is supposed to be doing as "parent" can camouflage suspected underlying, selfish motivations, because the leader is a person like anyone else. People know themselves for their independence of purpose, which is disruptive of harmonious relations between coresident kin. They need a figure to combat this disruptive tendency, but they are perfectly aware of the humanity and potential immorality of leaders.

Meeting 2: Inter-village politics on the Purus

This meeting was held on the 13th of January 1985 in the village of Recreio. The people of Fronteira, Refugio and Murubim were called. It followed one held 10 days before in Fronteira concerning the establishment of economic independence from Cariu traders and bosses. The meeting lasted from 8.00 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. It was attended by all adults. The men sat on benches on 3 sides of the leader's large veranda/sitting room and the women sat on the fourth side in a group, cross-legged on the floor. Mouro, leader of Fronteira, sat on a separate bench beside Pancho. Pancho spoke first, then Zé Augusto (his ex-BL and sometime assistant leader), then the other men, including Mouro and his son, Zéca (a budding leader). Finally some of the elder women spoke, before leaving the men to continue on their own.

Only two men did not speak, one of whom was in open dispute with Pancho and the other of whom was too shy. Pancho introduced the topic as a general discussion of economic production and strategy for the year. He emphasized the need to strive for a better standard of living. Every other speaker made a speech more or less as follows, in line with Pancho.

> Listen to what I say, my Mothers-in-law, my Mothers, Cousins, all of you. Listen and understand everyone. We had a bad year last year. Our relatives Sampaio and Luisa died, others died, and we were very sad. The production for the coop was stagnant, noone wanted to work. There was a lot of gossip and lying.

> This is a new year, we must all look ahead and be happy. This can only come about if we work hard and do not gossip, and do not lie anymore. We must raise up the cooperative so that we can have those necessities that can't be planted and grown here - salt, kerosene, soap, clothes, ammunition. I will work hard and cut my estrada, make my new garden, sell to the coop, (and so on - each person spoke of personal plans for that year).

After each man's speech, Pancho put in a few words in support of the main points that he agreed with, such as the need to work hard and sell production only in the coop. He then said *"Betsakain?"*, "Another?", and the next person spoke. Zéca made the following implicit criticism of Pancho and his own father: 'If a leader stops, the community stops too. He must work. He must provide an example. If he stops then everyone will stop too, because that is the way Indians are.' Zéca appealed to a perjorative Cariú view of 'Indians' in his criticism of the leaders. They for their part were quick to reply, asserting that the problem lay not with themselves but with the villagers themselves.

The women spoke at the end of the meeting. They did not use the formal opening and spoke only of their own personal problems and plans for the year, using the personal pronoun '*en*', rather than 'nun' (we). This contrast between men's and women's styles is typical. However, some men also speak only in the personal, especially in the meetings that I observed on the Jordão. A woman's speech went as follows:

> I worked hard last year, and I paid my debt to my relative, Pancho. I will help him this year too, making him a shoulder bag. First I will make a hammock for my child, son-in-law, etc.

Pancho intervened and protested that the hammocks which had been made by the women for sale had not been made for him personally but rather for the cooperative, for the community. The women however continued to refer to their production of hammocks for sale as work on behalf of Pancho, whom they referred to by the appropriate kin term, and not on behalf of the cooperative. Women are even less impressed than men by the idea that the cooperative is 'collective property' and owned by the community 'as a whole', as I shall discuss in the next section. This is not to say that women do not participate in the cooperatives. In 1984 women's production of handicrafts outstripped men's production of rubber in terms of income generated. All the women who spoke said they would now concentrate on weaving for use instead of for sale.

The first part of the meeting, about the organization of production in the coming year, was concerned with non-controversial matters. Much of what was said was homelitic in style and effect. The next part of the meeting was concerned with controversial matters, and the tension in the air affected everyone. The leader of Fronteira spoke. He referred to an old dispute which had led to the departure of the current residents of Murubim (the Dauriano family) from Fronteira, in violent circumstances. He spoke at the request of Pancho, who wanted to expand the number of rubber estradas under his control. Two weeks earlier Pancho had helped Mouro try to coerce the latter's upriver neighbour Severino to produce more rubber and sell it to the Fronteira cooperative, and not to passing river traders any more. Pancho wanted to bring his neighbours downriver in Murubim to heel in the same way. He failed, as I observed during subsequent months; and so did Mouro with regard to Severino. Mouro spoke thus, addressing himself to Dauriano:

M Don't be angry with us anymore. The fight is long since over. Our village is just one. Although our settlements are separated, our community is just one. We must help each other. What do you think, Uncle?

D We are all Cashinahua. [Goes on to suggest that the land belongs to all of them, and that they, the Dauriano family, have a right to live there too, work there too].

M It's not ours separately, its general, it belongs to everyone, to the community. Nobody can take it away from (us) the Cashinahua. We have to unite, to unite really properly. We must plan/think straight.

D Do you accept, leaving us alone?

M You can keep your estradas. You can keep your (means of making) money. We have to help you. Help the community! Why, we're entering into 1985, we must change! If not, we will never raise up our village! (in sense of all the villages as a united body). Without production we eat the projects, and when its gone, there is nothing left.(reference to previous years when men downed tools and relaxed

> work because of several projects, i.e.aid in form of a gift of capital). If not, we will never go forward, only back [36].

Mouro goes on to say that the Cashinahua know how to work, to hunt. If they don't do these things, only grass would grow in their villages. The Nawa (Cariu) would criticize them, laugh at them, say "Poor Indians, see how they have nothing but grass growing high in their villages". The discussion turned again to the allocation of estradas; Mouro said that it should be done fairly so that everyone should have equal opportunity to work. He turned to Dauriano, again. He now made a reference to an accusation that Dauriano and his immediate neighbours had been mistreating the trees:

M We have to look after our rubber trees. Where will we buy salt if we have no rubber? We have to keep checks (fiscalize). It's our law. It is forbidden to mutilate the trees. Do you agree, Uncle? Each one, speak.

Olave: Everybody must speak [37].

This next speaker goes on to say that although the Cashinhua are many, they never work together. He suggests the institution of an administration along Cariu lines, with appointed agents (policia) to check that rubber tappers are producing enough and without harming their trees. (Everyone agreed to this). He also said that noone could oblige anyone to do anything, contradicting himself.

Dauriano was afraid that they would try and deprive him of his alledgedly poorly worked estradas. In May, several months later there were to be repeated moves by Pancho to send a Recreiano sub-chief (Pancho's brother-in-law. Manuel Aviciano Sampaio) to administer Murubim, so Dauriano's fears were justified. Pancho was trying not only to increase production, but also to resolve an internal conflict in Recreio, which led to a village split by June of 1985. However Dauriano was not invaded and kept hold of his estradas, since he remained unmoved by Pancho's bluffs. He continued to sell to river traders as before.

There are many trends of current Cashinahua political philosophy to be found in these extracts. The idea of advancement, raising oneself up, is presented as a primary objective. The idea that everyone must work for the benefit of the community or village in order to advance personally is argued forcefully by more than one man (but no woman). The Cariu view that Indians are worth nothing because they do not work is quoted, and the old-fashioned Cashinahua virtues of hard work and abundant production are stressed. The idea of unity and common action is put forward, and the common enemy/competitor is repeatedly identified as the Nawa. At one point the leaders were indirectly accused of laziness, failing to provide an example. They were quick to reply to the implicit criticism, stressing that far from their negligence, lack of unity was the fault of the general poor moral standard. Fighting and lying were extremely disruptive, they said, and the only way forward was to work through the cooperatives, institutions which they ran not for selfish purposes but for the benefit of all. The women unanimously appeared to think that the coop was a vehicle of expression of their own personal relationships with the male leader, despite his protestations. The commonly held opinion that the leaders took advantage of their power as administrators of coops and economic projects was only hinted at, whereas the opinion of the leader (and some others) that the failure of the coops to become financially independent in the previous year had been due to the laxity and laziness of the Indians themselves, recieved full expression. This is quite in accord with traditional oratory, which is largely concerned with inspiring, admonishing and teaching people to work hard - in other words with the active manufacture of both the spirit of community and community itself, through acting upon the moral nature of persons.

In the next section I examine the workings of the coops in more detail and argue that the Cashinahua conception of the relationship between persons and things and between people through things is partly responsible for the difficulties experienced by the male leaders in making the coops work.

Section 4: Exchange and Sharing in the Cooperative Movement

Social relationships of exchange in Lowland South America, it seems to me, delineate relations between strangers and not relations between kin or, indeed, affines [38]. This is certainly true of the Cashinahua. When transactions involve principles of debt, or of reciprocity, they suggest distance not proximity. This point is crucial with regard to the nature of leadership, to the activities of the leader within the cooperative, and equally to the daily social and economic process. Just as miserly kin who will not give unless they can forsee an immediate reward are behaving like strangers, so miserly leaders are behaving like Cariú bosses. In this section I explore the dynamics of a leader's economic transactions with his kin, in search of an answer to the following question 'When is a leader a 'boss' exercising coercive power and when is he a '*xanen ibu*' acting within the constraints of legitimate authority.

Like Clastres (1977), I disagree with those who see the relation between leader and 'group' as one of 'balanced reciprocity' (Lévi-Strauss) or asymetrical reciprocity (Santos-Granero) [39]. Lévi-Strauss analyses 'social structure' in terms of the exchange of women, words and things - and his view of political structure likewise posits balanced exchange of these 'values' between leader and 'group'. Clastres argues, in contrast, that the supreme 'value' - women - are 'pure and simple gifts from the group to its leader, a gift with no reciprocity' (1977:31). By such non-exchange power is ejected outside society, because the leader is the eternal debtor, or 'servant' of the 'group', rather than its ruler. There is very little in this set of concepts about social and political organization, or about exchange, with which I could agree.

What is at issue here is the notion of community. Gow points out that Clastres uses a mistaken notion of group which ill suits the ethnographic context [40]. I would argue that the proponents of both views (reciprocity's centrality or its absence) use a false dichotomy between leader and group, which reifies the notion of group, making it at times a subject (the giver of women) and at times an object (the receiver of words and things). Whilst the male leader does 'make' the community out of his ties to his personal kindred, the kindred is in no sense a bounded group, as Overing Kaplan and others have made clear [41]. To suggest otherwise skews our understanding of political organization as well as of kinship in indigenous Amazonian societies. I imagine that a preoccupation with exchange relations between male leader and (male) group lies behind the failure to take seriously the institution of female leadership in this area, for example. The male leader can only 'make' a community through his relationships to his kindred and not 'out of' kin and affines. He does this by appealing to their personal morality, as it is expressed either in choosing to live together with kin, or in enacted male or female agency in production (as I showed above). This is a continuous process involving multiple series of dyadic relationships between the leader and every person in his village (or community), and not a dyadic relation between the villagers as a separate whole and the leader.

In this section and the next section I explore this process, and in particular discuss the notion of 'community', how and why it is at times set against the male leader as an outsider and at times incorporates him as standing for 'the community'.

Exchange and Sharing

One of the most crucial activities of modern male leaders is the maintenance of a high level of interaction with the outside, so as to obtain basic 'necessities' (such as salt) for the community [42]. The leader must enter into relations of exchange with Nawa to obtain these things; once he has them, he should then distribute them to his kinspeople. Objects from outside are crucial to kinship, but the transformation from objects which are exchanged to objects which are 'presented' is a difficult one. There is no simple way for a leader to trade with his close kin.

Relations of exchange with outsiders involve a different and contrary property logic to that which underpins relations of caring between kin. The importance of this difference cannot be overstressed, since it is the source of most social tensions for the Cashinahua. The same object can be transacted in two different ways and depending on how it is treated the relation between people is defined in its transaction. The confusion which arises is near tragic as far as the leader and the coops are concerned, since he is bound by the constraints of market trade to attempt to enforce reciprocity upon people for whom he is supposed to care, and this constraint binds the least self-seeking and most honest of leaders into a situation where they can be called misers, bosses, foreigners and thieves. They must engage in economic forms which are alien to the social ethic, yet essential to the production of sociality.

From one point-of-view the property logic which informs 'relations of exchange' is a commodity logic. Things circulate against things and may ideally be alienated from their sources [43]. Exchange does not imply an ongoing social relationship, and the objects transacted do not stand for a social link once the transaction has been completed. Although the aviamento system (which I described in Chapter 1) involves debt, Cashinahua traders seek to pay off debts and be free of obigation, to shake off the relationship which the debts impose. Unlike some other patron-client systems in Amazonia (see Gow [in press]), continuity in these relationships is seen by most Cashinahua debtors as a burden and not an advantage. In a few cases debtors gather bosses, and with them unpaid bills, in an effort to avoid payment altogether. This rejection of close ties to the outside is undoubtedly both a product of years of political campaigning by Cashinahua eager to establish economic autonomy, and also a response to the attitude of most Cariú bosses, who as Aquino has shown have consistently treated the caboclos even worse than they have their Cariú tappers. Like most people, the Cashinahua would prefer to have 'good bosses' and they do periodically enter into compadrazgo relationships with Cariú in the hope of establishing useful ties. Yet these efforts hardly ever come to anything, since the most friendly Cariú are usually the poorest. For the Cashinahua, in the end, relations of exchange as completed commodity exchange are ideal; but as debts they are a nuisance.

Relations of exchange are opposed, in the Cashinahua system, to relations of caring involving sharing. The type of transaction involved in this latter sphere is clearly very different to Melanesian-style gift transactions since they explicitly confront the possibility of reciprocity: a prestation given in this mode is to be consumed and not to be the source of return [44]. Neither is this prestation a 'pure gift' in the sense described by Parry (1986) as 'anti-commodity', the twin of the commodity transaction, its flip side, although it is very like it. The difference between the Cashinahua system involving both anti-social transactions and kinship-forming transactions (a 'simple society' in Parry's typology) and Western or Indian systems involving commodity with pure gift (both 'complex societies'), lies not so much the nature of the transaction looked at in these terms (alienability or inalienability) but in the social and economic process itself. Although Cashinahua social organization is undoubtedly of a simple type (despite its historical involvement with world capitalism) the relationship between Cashinahua 'commodities' and Cashinahua 'gifts' is more complex than it is, strangely enough, in complex social organizations of a Western type. The question 'When is a thing to be a gift, and when a sale?' is a source of continual preoccupation for them. Types of transactions must always be defined, so that relationships are always being redefined too. This is an essential aspect of the social process within communities.

The Cashinahua term for giving a present (and not expecting a return) is *inankuin* (literally 'real giving'); the term for giving and expecting a return, and also selling, is *inan*. In one form of transaction there is exchange and bilaterality; in the other there is no reciprocity and unilaterality. The giving of a present defines the giver as moral, good, generous and as a person who can produce and contrasts her or him to those who give in order to receive. How these latter gifts are made defines the momentary nature of a relationship. Transactions of an *inan* nature are ambiguous and dependent on context. I, for example, was subject to a barrage of requests for gifts, 'proof' (when I gave) of my generosity; but true gifts to me were far fewer. However, I could console myself with the fact that few are asked for gifts in the same way, since most foreigners are known to be 'angry' and miserly. Sometimes women would make friends with me by giving me (unilaterally) bead bracelets or necklaces, or cotton wristbands, as they do to visiting kin (and especially namesakes) from other communities. More than once, I was given a 'present' and then asked to reciprocate almost immediately, shattering my temporary delusion that I was the object of pure affection. Anthropologists' reports of such loaded gifts, and the ensuing series of impossible demands for returns, are common in the literature on Lowland South America [45]. Despite this attitude to myself and my things in all cases I was treated with true generosity as far as food was concerned, in contrast to other Nawa who are not invited to eat.

The transformation between prestations of exchange, and of non-reciprocity, between *inan*, and *inankuin*, are especially problematic in the case of cooperatives. The leader cannot unilaterally give to all those who demand that he does so, and for their benefit as much as his own he must demand a return. Yet by so doing he distances himself from them. He becomes like a Nawa. How coop transactions are defined directly affect the coop leader's relations with its other members.

The possibility of mutual coercion is associated with relations between people who buy from and sell to each other. This hostile relationship represents an inversion of the proper relation between kin, since it encourages meanness at the expense of generosity. It characterizes the system of riverine trade for the Cashinahua. As far as they are concerned, what the traders and bosses try to do is cheat, enslave, murder, which they understand as a rejection of possible kinship. Such behaviour legitimizes the attitude adopted by a few Cashinahua that the best exchange with a patrão is totally one-sided - theft. Unfortunately, because of the unequal balance of power it is they, the weakest, who normally come out worst in the deal. As far as the bosses are concerned, 'Indians' (caboclos) are always liable to be thieves either through laziness (not paying their debts because they could not be bothered to work), or else through planned burglary [46]. The Cashinahua are regarded as far more trustworthy than the Kulina by those who have experience of trading with both.But they are Indians, more animal than human, nevertheless. As such, they should be treated as a source of profit, whether through the exploitation of labour, or through unfair trading [47].

All the indigenous people of Acre are aware of this Cariú attitude to them. With the help of aid agencies they were trying to organize an alternative source of goods and supplies, through the cooperatives. However, the problems have been many. Since commodity logic trade, in their experience, is based on a principle of mutual theft behind the ideological notion of exchange of things, it has been difficult sometimes not to view the "owners" of the cooperatives, the leaders, as 'Nawa' dressed in the clothing of kin. Since coop leaders always are undeniably kinsmen, their behaviour is often interpreted as the opposite of what it should be, as miserly, selfish, coercive and wrong.

The Cooperative

Next to the leader's house in Recreio, Fronteira, and on the Jordão, stands the coop or cantina. It is the only building in the settlement which is entirely walled, has a door and a chain and padlock securing it. Inside, like any Cariu barracão, it should have a stored quantity of rubber and stockpiles of trade goods and supplies obtained downriver in the nearest town. The account books are stored there, a heavy-duty scales, fuel containers and spare parts for the village outboard engine. Usually the stock of medicines is kept there too. It is one of a modern leader's responsibilities to ensure that both produce and supplies are always available. Mostly, however, they are not.

The coops run according to the principles of the aviamento system. Thus, workers are provided with supplies on a credit basis, and are expected to pay off their debts before they obtain a new batch of supplies. Attempts to institute a cash down exchange system meet stiff opposition, and if a leader tries to withold supplies from his clients, he is angrily criticized (in private). Although the aviamento system is the basic form of the cooperatives' economic organization, not all of the practices of the Cariu patrões are adhered to. The leaders say that they attempt to make sure that the prices of goods are lower and of rubber higher, than in neighbouring barracões, or in the rivertraders' boats. They do not charge rent for the estradas, nor quebra on the rubber [48].

Consequently, in most cases the profit margin is very low, if indeed the tappers and artefact producers actually do pay their debts. Non-payment of debt is a serious problem, and it is seen by the coop managers as the principle cause for the near universal failure of the coops to be financially self-sufficient. They have continued to survive because injections of capital have been periodially introduced from outside, by charities for instance. Some leaders attempt to force their coop workers to produce more, and to pay, thus acting like Cariú bosses.

Behind the counter in the cantina, the coop leader looks for all the world like a Cariu boss. His kinspeople come in one by one, and deposit what produce they have brought on the scales. The leader notes down the weight and the credit in his book. Whether or not there is produce, he normally distributes what he can afford to his "client" - so many grams of powder, ounces of shot, 15 caps, a knife, 4 litres of kerosene, 5 kilos of salt, a new shirt, a kilo of sugar, two needles, a button. Each item is listed and the prices calculated in the right hand margin. The total of the debt is told to the purchaser as she or he bundles up the things to carry home. A crowd of onlookers crowd around the counter, watching everything that goes on; they are banned from going behind the counter. Sometimes, the leader is a little lax, and allows his children behind. Normally, only his wife or another trusted associate will be allowed to enter the inner recesses of the shop.

Everyone observes the form, learnt from many encounters with river-traders and other bosses. But nevertheless the dealings are still between kin; the leader is pressured by his closer relations to give them more than their fair share of the supplies. Later they complain that he has been miserly and unfair because he had favoured someone else but not them. Often he favours himself and his own family first of all. In the houses of most Cashinahua leaders one finds more and newer cooking pots, mosquito nets, clothes, shotguns and so on. This wealth is, however, in no way comparable to the wealth of Cariu bosses in quantity or quality. It marks the leaders out as being particularily subject to the predatory begging of their relations, (at least in their own eyes). Certainly leaders are compelled to stealth if they want to preserve their own good reputation, and a personal supply of some bought necessidade. Also, if they want to make a go of the coop business, they are obliged to act in this way. Sometimes they act in a fashion quite unlike kin.

> Once, Pancho came back from a trip downriver in late May, bringing enough supplies for everyone to be given a share. He had been absent for several months, and everyone had run out of salt, kerosene, and ammunition. Some had exchanged a few kilos of rubber with passing traders, or at the barracão in Mamoeira, for a little shot or some kerosene. Only one of the 8 estradas had been opened up so far, and very little rubber was being produced. Instead, male collective work had been focused on making a new house for Pancho, clearing the village of scrub, and together with the women, planting the beach gardens. Otherwise people were engaged in small-group activities such as marking out new gardens. A flu epidemic had just swept the river, and in most households production had come to a standstill.
>
> Pancho expressed his anger to me. He said that nothing got done when he was away, and that his people were irresponsible and lazy. (He was speaking in the huge veranda of his new house at the time). He therefore decided that he would not distribute any ammunition to the villagers until they had cleared every single rubber estrada, and begun regular production. He communicated this decision to everyone. His brother-in-law, Zé Augusto Junior, was disgusted with this behaviour. Had he not looked after the village, organized that Pancho's house be built, planted his peanut garden, organized the collective clearing of village scrub? Hadn't everyone been afflicted with a terrible flu, and he himself had nearly died? Pancho's witholding of the ammunition, in the name of forcing people to produce and pay their debts to the coop, was no different from the high-handed behaviour of the Cariu bosses. At this time Zé constantly referred to his brother-in-law as o patrão, rather than *en chai*, my brother-in-law.

Few leaders would behave in such a high-handed fashion. Such coercive manipulation can only be a temporary phenomenon. When Pancho's ammunition ran out, he had no more hold on the coop's clients than any one else. In such cultures control over material things is not self-perpetuating; distribution is eventually effected willy-nilly, since there is no inheritance, no capital. The leader's real monopoly is understood by the Cashinahua as being the knowledge he has of dealing with the people of the city, the foreigners who give economic projects, organize healthcare, or sell goods and buy rubber. People who go to the city to hospital, to sign up for their pension, or to study are often dependent on the superior knowledge of the leader their stay. The stories they later tell only back up his position of power in his community. It is not temporary ownership of goods that gives him power, but rather his ability to get them.

The coop leader has knowledge to engage more or less successfully in relations of exchange with the Nawa. But then he is afflicted with the problem of transforming the commodities obtained according to anti-social principles, into things which can be transacted according to social ones. The logic of commodity transaction dictates that he distribute them according to the antisocial ethic of reciprocity. But the sleight-of-hand involved in making a commodity appear to be a present is difficult: and the ability that leaders have to manage it defines the tenor of their relations with their clients and the extent to which they are defined as bosses (one of them) or as kinsmen (one of us).

Section 5: Community, Male Collectivity and Cooperative

If the male leader has tried to act in a coercive manner, coop members criticise him: "He is not a boss, he does not own the land," they say, "so he cannot ask us to pay rent for the estradas. The coop is not his property it is ours. It belongs to the community." However, at the same time the Cashinahua appear to be gripped by an inability to conceive of commonly held property, communal ownership, or unitary corporate action. Things are owned by separate persons and relationships of transaction happen between two individuals rather than between groups or leader and group. When outsiders like CIMI and CPI-AC try to establish a notion of community as corporately based they are always defeated by this intransigent vision of personhood and social action.

In the last chapter I showed that ownership of objects or food cannot be collective. When a man needs help in making a garden, I said, he calls a collective male work party and feeds them, thereby declaring kinship. Such a meal is not payment: if people pay others for their labour (as Pancho once paid two Yaminahua) they are declaring a relation of distance. But what happens in the case of community work, clearing paths for example, where no one individual owns the land? Why do the Cashinahua say of certain kinds of work performed by all the men of a settlement that it is done on behalf of the community, comunidade ? How can such work be communal, if the Cashinahua do not have a notion of common property?

In this section I will show how the conception of the leader as the parent of the community, the "responsible one", solves this difficulty. As metaphorical parent and 'owner', the *ibu*, he can initiate and organize collective community work. This is both true of community property such as land, which is non-transactable and is not owned privately; and of objects which might be transacted and owned, and which townspeople understand to be corporate - the Recreio outboard engine, for example. The people of Recreio treat such objects as Pancho's property, or (worse) as without owner. This, according to Pancho, is why community machines are always broken. If noone owns them, then noone takes care of them either. The things in the cantina building are often thought of in this way too. So whilst the institutions which loan money to the Cashinahua to set up coops like to think of the coop leader as standing for and part of the 'tribe', the Cashinahua think of him in a variety of ways mainly at odds with the institution's point of view. The loan is the leader's property, for example: and as a rich kinsman he ought to be generous with his things. In the case of transactable things problems and tensions over ownership and responsibility are numerous. The confusions which arise can be directly related to the intractable problem of defining who owns the coop stock [49].

The worst side of human nature, for the Cashinahua, expresses itself in the selfish manipulation of objects, which is what the coop requires if it is to succeed. The further away from exchange relations, the easier it is to produce sociality; this is why male collective work on behalf of the *xanen ibu* most easily forms the community, (and why transactions through the cooperative are the most problematic). It is a male leader's responsibility to organize the maintenance of the settlement and the major paths which run through it and connect it to the gardens. Every few months he calls on all the men to spend one day cutting down the undergrowth with their machetes; he justifies this appeal by saying that it is for the benefit of the community. On the morning of the appointed day, often Saturday, he shouts out in the formal manner for the men to assemble in his house to eat. They come bearing plates of food or bowls of caissuma, as usual, to be shared in the collective meal. The female leader (the male leader's wife) should also be able to serve them with meat or fish that her husband has caught. She should have prepared either masato or caissuma for them. Thus the leaders treat the assembled men as kin just like any man who has called a collective male group to help him in a task.

After the meal machetes are sharpened and the work party, slashing down the brush in fairly close formation, makes their way steadily through the designated area. The atmosphere is one of excitement, as the workers let out whoops from time to time. Between each bout they stand joking and smoking cigarettes, the sweat pouring down. There is a pervasive feeling of male solidarity. Only the leader refrains from entering into the group, instead performing smaller tasks on his own at the periphery. Usually the majority of the village's adult men and elder boys take part in the main work group. Younger boys, between 9 and 13 clear some smaller area separately, in a style imitating the adults. Only old men, and those currently in serious dispute with the leader keep away, the former because their age exempt them, but the latter because they are exercising their right to withhold their labour from work carried out on behalf of another person. In this case the person is the leader.

On collective work days for the benefit of the community, the absence of any particular man is conspicuous. But condemnation of the behaviour of these skivers should not be interpreted in terms of an individual-society opposition [50]. The man's refusal to work is not of the community but of a particular person. On these occasions the word comunidade can be interpreted as synonymous with "of the leader" or "of the responsibility of the leader". The field of ownership is enlarged to include the whole area of the village, under the "possession" of one man, and his wife or elder wife, in the same way as the concept *nabu*, "family" is enlarged to include all coresidents of a community. The idea of leader as *ibu*, parent or owner, one responsible for, is therefore important in practical organizational terms as well as in indigenous theories of authority. Ties of kinship are affirmed in the preliminary meal or drinking party, which is made possible by the husband-wife relationship, between all the men and their wives, and especially between the male leader and his wife or wives. All the men thus do the work 'on behalf of' their male 'parent' as kinsmen, in a relation which affinity has made possible. Viewed in this perspective, the work is not so much for the common benefit of all the village's individuals, as for the benefit of the leader.

Collective work for a collectively owned entity is a problematic notion for the Cashinahua. In certain situations the notion of community of interest appears to be used in what might be called a Western sense:

> There was no immediate benefit to any individual man participating in the demarcation of the joint Cashinahua and Kulina IA in 1984. Indeed the two months of intensive labour required from each man seriously disrupted their personal work programmes at the busiest time of the year. CIMI volunteers, together with the leader, had explained the urgency of demarcating the land in order to discourage any illegal squatters that the opening of a new road might bring. The discourse of community defence, of the collective interest of Índios, both Kulina and Cashinahua working together, was temporarily effective in uniting the separate groups of the IA. However, once the work was done, they went their separate ways.

The idea of communidade is sometimes used in a sense diametrically opposed to the sense described above. The people of Recreio sometimes use the word "community" as a counter to what they see as the attempts of the leader to augment his personal power at their expense.

'Community' in these situations no longer means 'belonging to the leader our kinsman'; instead, it has an opposite meaning - 'not belonging to the leader our boss'. Thus when Zé Augusto was goaded by Pancho into leaving Recreio for Santa Vitoria, he told me bitterly:

> It was us who did all this, there was nothing when we arrived, just jungle and that's all. We cut down trees, planted gardens, cleared the scrub from the field. The boss says it is his, but he's not the owner, no Missus. It was with our work that all this was done, we really struggled. It's ours, the community's. It's not his, indeed not. [51]

In this context the idea 'community' is being used in opposition to the idea 'leader as boss'. The rationale follows the logic of appropriation described above: their labour that went into the making of the village, so the village itself is theirs. The 'boss' did not work on it, so it is not his. But Zé does not mean 'community' in the sense of a group bounded by collective ownership, in any Durkheimian fashion. His 'community' is a different creature, something that happens as a result of labour, and not as a result of personal shares in collective ownership. The essence of such work is processual - it never ends - and it at once relies upon and in part constitutes ties between persons. It does not depend on ties between persons through things.

'Ownership' strictly speaking is a relation between a person and his or her things. Beyond this it is better to speak of 'responsibility' rather than ownership *per se*. The main leader himself does not own the village, its land and estradas; he is merely responsible for them. This fact cannot be overstressed. As a responsible kinsman, a male leader must use his special attachment to things or to the settlement land productively. When he does behave in a responsible fashion together with his wife, he is productive of sociality; when he does not he is destructive of it. Leaders understand this well. Pancho knew exactly what he was doing when he tried to restrict access to the ammunition (see above) as a result of which several people left the village.

There is considerable ambiguity about 'community property'. People sometimes think of the stock as without owner, feeling no obligation to pay back their debts in time as the leader demands. Since he has not worked to achieve the stock of goods, they are not 'his' but rather a gift, a windfall from benevolent foreigners to the each person in the 'community' [52]. The stock is then thought of rather like gathered fruits from the forest, and is subject to similar rules of appropriation: those who gather fastest and most furiously get more. When the leader is unable to obtain new loans, and is dependent on coop products, his co-villagers' attitudes to the stock, whether considered as his property, their property misappropriated by him, or as free for the taking, are damaging to his own reputation, and to the efficiency of the institution. Whatever the approach, the effect is that the things get distributed, but debts do not get paid with any willingness.

When a major project has not been involved, and the coop's stock is purchased through the accumulation and sale of rubber, handicrafts, or livestock, it is regarded in another way. As a relative, the leader ought to behave as an intermediary between maker and buyer, rather than as a merchant. As a relative, he should fetch encomendas (specially commissioned purchases) from the city, not buy goods there and resell them to his kin at marked up prices. The money which he uses to buy these goods is really not his, the thinking goes, but the property of the person who made the rubber or shoulder bag. It ought to come back again to the maker as the thing s/he asked for, with no profit being creamed off in the process.

Finally, it should be said that coop stock is usually regarded as the unfairly acquired property of the leader. It is treated in the same way as the property of any person who owns more than another, any *jiku* (a loan word from Portuguese rico, rich man). The leader himself is treated as a bad relative, a miser, since he does not give freely of what he has not worked for in the first place.

The idea of community property is always difficult, then, whether it be coop stock or community outboard motor. Disputes about such things lead to the breakup of communities, because in the end people want their own share for themselves, and see no benefit in sacrificing individual desire to community interest. However, as an owner of things which no individual thinks to claim as personal property, such as land, the leader is successful in working harmoniously with the male collectivity for the benefit of the community. In these cases the leader is not boss but 'one of us' and the interest of one is the interest of all. Such idyllic moments are essential to the progress of particular communities, and the healthy and harmonious state of social life can be seen concretely manifested in the physical state of the village and its paths and gardens. A beautiful, well tended settlement indicates that the male leader stands for community more often than he stands against it. He manages to be 'one of us' more often than 'one of them'. Those who live in an ugly, overgrown settlement might well be at greater odds with their own leader. Like the Cubeo headman, the male leader is often the one blamed if this feeling of social harmony is not maintained [53].

Like Cubeo local groups, the Cashinahua 'community' is always on the move, either growing stronger and more unified, or weaker and less coordinated. The Cashinahua have adopted the Portuguese term communidade to describe their idea of a social unit. In their ambiguous use of the term they allow for the processual nature of social organization, thus freeing themselves of the structural connotations that mother-tongue Portuguese speakers would give to the word. The Cashinahua term which can sometimes be glossed as 'community' is more suggestive of this organizational dynamism. *Mae* is a term which is used to describe any settlement, whether it be a colocação, a maloca settlement, a village, or a collection of hamlets and villages in an IA. A *mae evapa* (big *mae*) is a town or a city. The term implies, in its most common usage as a single settlement, a space of land cleared of trees and scrub upon which houses stand. Such land is constantly being reinvaded by vegetation, and the idea of *mae* contains the assumption that the physical space is not fixed but constantly created. In verb form, *mae-* means 'to move house', suggesting both the dynamic nature of community, and the process whereby communities are formed, from the moving bodies of autonomous people.

The Portuguese term communidade is nowadays a popular one, perhaps because it describes better the modern ambiguities of social life. It is used, as I have shown in this section, within two linked Cashinahua discourses. In one, community stands for a unitary group, for the interest of all members, for the common good. Individual action takes place in relation to the community as represented by the male leader. Such a meaning only finds its realization in temporary activities like clearing the village or demarcating the boundaries of the IA. It is usually expressed in the temporary formation of a male collective. It can only be put into action by drawing on the second and opposite discourse, that of separation, of personal responsibility, of relations between persons, where individual action is done for another person. Ironically, this latter discourse is indicative of a set of ideas and emotions which place individual desire against collective interest. In practice, this second discourse takes precedence. Although it means that 'community' is never stable, it is a vision of the world that allows for personal liberty and at the same time for the centrifugalization that constitutes the Cashinahua mode of making sociality. It centres on the pivotal position of the leader, to which I now return.

Section 6: Conclusion - Political Organization and Gender

The very centre of the village is the house of its male and female leaders. Men eat there collectively nearly every day; visitors are taken directly there; important rituals are performed beside or inside it; political meetings and religious services are held there. Finally, it is usually located at the heart of the settlement, midway between the downriver and upriver houses. Its owners, the *xanen ibu* of the village, together coordinate the social life of the community from this base.

Disruptions to the smooth progress of social life are many. The usual cause of such upsets is personal immoral behaviour on the part of the village people themselves. Men and women are said to be antisocial in both similar and different ways. Lying, for example, is a female quality. Women lie a lot, they say - "*chanichakayama imiskí*". A man is "like a woman" if he lies. Not all women are liars; some women I knew were regarded as hopeless gossips and tellers of tall tales, whereas others were much admired and loved for their honesty and generosity. Disunity in the community is partly caused by too much lying, and in political oratory male and female leaders inveigh against it. This categorization of lying as a female form of antisociality is perhaps linked to the organization of women's economic activities. Women work on their own or in small groups more often than men [54]. But men are also peculiarly disruptive of community in a way which is directly linked to their participation in the economic process. Whereas women must learn a greater tranquillity in order to produce, men must learn mobility and violence. Men disrupt the community by their absences, at times prolonged over months. Men learn a certain aggressiveness and self-sufficiency for this: they must be able to hold their own in interactions with the Nawa and they must be able to avoid spirits in the forest. Men enjoy jokingly adopting the style of Cariú male bravado, boasting of their own strength and endurance and denigrating that of their cross-cousins. Such bantering mixes in with sexual joking of a more traditional kind during male collective work and functions not only to produce a strong sense of male gender but also one of male solidarity. However, whilst men use a Cashinahua adaptation of the idioms of 'machismo' to reinforce collectivity, any display of aggressive 'macho' behaviour against other people is unthinkable. Men's acquired fierceness is disruptive of community harmony when it manifests itself as violence against kin. Since men are stronger than women, one aberrant manifestation is the physical mistreatment of their wives or daughters. This is rare compared to incidences of male violence against women amongst other peoples such as the Yanomami, the Achuar and the Amahuaca [55]. In most homelitic oratory male and female leaders stress its immorality [56].

Most antisocial behaviour is neither male nor female. People say of someone, disapprovingly:

Sinamiski, javen bake kunyan amiski, sinata chakamadan.
S/he always gets angry, and shouts at the children, really furious.

Uncontrolled, passionate anger is thoroughly antisocial in nature, whether displayed by men or women. Similarily neither miserliness, nor laziness, nor vindictiveness are gender-linked. Sexual jealousy afflicts men and women alike and inspires acts of revenge [57]. The worst kind of vengeance-taking is through the use of sorcery, which is accessible to both men and women. Although the Cashinahua say that there are few sorcerers now, and no shamans, I occasionally heard men or women being accused of sorcery behind their backs, and a real fear of sorcery persists despite these claims [58]. This fear adds tension to the contrast bewteen anti-social and social behaviour, and gives the homelitic speeches of the leaders added piquancy. It is only because danger is all around, even in those people who classify each other as close kin, that the Cashinahua vision of sociality is expressed in so positively moralistic a way.

The Cashinahua think of the good behaviour of the community's residents as productive of sociality. Since all persons are imperfect, sociality is never perfectly achieved, and must constantly be striven for. The chief guide within this struggle is ironically one of the least perfect of persons, the male leader; but he comes closest to perfection when he is working together with his wife, the female leader. This pair is pivotal for the community, a notion which can only be understood in terms of process (as the Cashinahua do) and not in terms of structure. The community is something which must be made to happen, a feeling rather than a concrete thing, a moving of kinspeople and not a set of houses which enclose them. It is both something which is always being produced, and is always producing. The male leader stands at the heart of the male collective production that is vital to community, in ways that I have already described, and the female leader stands at the heart of female collective production. In formal moments, during meetings concerning the whole community, or at collective meals, the complementarity of male and female agency is symbolized by their dual participation for the benefit of those who have gathered together, to hear their words or to eat their food. At these times, they stand for human (*juni kuin*) sociality at its finest, and against antisocial human (Nawa) behaviour.

The Cashinahua define gender as an aspect of production. The productive process involves the complementarity of male and female agency in the creation of sociality. The complementary nature of agency is 'thought' within the framework of individual lives, as the basis of kinship and the making of children and grandchildren. But these ideas are elaborated in political and economic ideology, by delineating a male and female pair to be the metaphorical 'parents' of a community of kinspeople, and at the same time the real source of stimulation for collective life. The two leaders represent different aspects and moments of community life, according to their gender, coming to stand at times for sex-defined collectivities, and at times acting for themselves as a person amongst other individuals. Thus the male leader stands for the male collectivity in many contexts, as the 'father' who initiates collective male work for the community; whilst the female leader stands for the female collectivity by initiating collective female expeditions to the manioc gardens prior to feasts, or by summoning the women to wake at dawn to spin cotton for the manufacture of handicrafts (see above ch.3). Nevertheless the leaders are not looked upon as anything other than individuals, and their 'role' as parent never masks the fact that they are kin and affines in dyadic (and dynamic) relationships with the people whom they mobilize as collectivities on the basis of sex. Sometimes these relationships are seriously impaired by the activities of the leaders, and in particular the male leader, because of the possibility that the position affords him to behave in an anti-social manner. Female leaders are far less likely to find themselves in this position, although as 'rich' women they too are sometimes accused of miserliness.

Female leadership has been little discussed in the literature on Lowland South America. Exceptions include Basso (1973) on Kalapalo (Xinguano) ceremonial statuses which both men and women inherit. She says that women and men become leaders and mentions 'senior women'. Generally politics is treated by anthropologists as a male sphere and 'domestic life' a female (see for example Murphy and Murphy (1980); Rivière (1984); Descola (1986). Male leaders are at most said to be dependent on their wives, but not in complementary cooperation with them. It seems probable that political organization is 'gendered' in many of these cases as it is amongst the Cashinahua, but that this has yet to be investigated. The mutually dependent relationship between male leaders and their wives (female leaders?) has been noted often since Goldman (1963) described the Cubeo headman's relation to his wife [59]. Clearly there is wide variation and possibly few groups are as explicit as the Kalapalo about the female leadership. At this stage it is impossible to make a wide comparative statement due to the lack of discussion. Although 'male bias' is partly responsible, the lapse may also be an effect of the changing nature of both political organization and gender, as Buenaventura-Posso and Brown (1980) suggested. Thus, because the male leaders deal directly with outsiders, it is they who enter into national political systems which do not recognize dual-gendered systems of this kind. Cashinahua male leaders' strength derives largely from their interactions with the Nawa, and in particular those who dispense funds and social services (and often ignore women and their problems). Internally, however, male leaders may not work without the cooperation of women. Although female leaders are not as strong as they were in the past, (the Cashinahua say), their position plays a vital function in political organization, complementary to the more prominent male role. Actual female leaders who participate in the daily motivation and mobilization of female production are not, as it happens, always married to the male leader; but even if another woman is designated official female leader, the male leader's wife is still required to perform many of the functions of female leadership, such as making homelitic speeches at meetings, and, most important of all, making and serving food to guests.

It is the act of serving food that best symbolizes a relationship of sociality, for the Cashinahua, a 'making of kinship' by the giving of a true prestation, one that makes the body strong and placates a desire for real food. By feeding guests, women are making a non-reciprocal prestation (*inankuin*) and placing themselves in an asymmetrical position of kinship, as if they were parents feeding their children. This, at least, is the implication of the idea that female leaders are 'parents' to the community. As generous adults, they are expressing a 'relation of caring' with the visitors to their house and thereby incorporating them into the domain of kinship (see Gow in press b). Such a prestation is only possible for married women in an affinal 'relation of demand' (Ibid) with their husband. The marriage relationship, as Gow points out, is the basic locomotive force of the productive process. An aspect of male production amongst the Cashinahua is that it is men who must enter into exchange relations with outsiders in order that the sociality-producing prestations made within the bounds of the community be possible. If for most men relations of an 'exchange' nature are primarily with forest beings, for the male leader 'exchange' relations are primarily with other people. Male leaders both engage in reciprocal social interaction with foreigners, and with their own kind, more often and more intensively than other men.

Inter-male social relations are more strongly affinal than women's and the formal production of male gender itself is carried out in an affinal relationship, between *chais* (MF-DS). In this stress on the affinal nature of masculinity, and the accompanying stress on the 'consanguineal' nature of femininity, the Cashinahua concept of gender is very similar to that of other Amazonian peoples, such as the Achuar. Taylor (1983) describes how the use of kinship terminology by Achuar women 'consanguinizes' most of their social relationships, whereas men's usage 'affinizes' their social world. Descola (1983), folowing Taylor, discusses the control that Achuar men have over exchange (including the disposal of women in marriage) and external social relations in general. It is this control, he suggests, that forms the basis of male control of women. In Descola (1986) he posits a total disjunction between the internal sphere of 'domestic sociability' and the external sphere of social relations proper [60].

Unlike Descola, I would argue that the internal sphere of Achuar social life links into the production of sociality in the same way that Cashinahua reciprocal exchanges link into non-reciprocal prestations. In his discussion of the Achuar house Descola (1986) makes a distinction between inter-house and intra-house 'sociability', so that the former is male in nature, involving a disjunction between the sexes, and the latter is dual-gendered in nature, involving a conjunction between the sexes. The front of the house, where the male leader sits and receives male guests, is an exclusively male domain, he says, and the rear of the house is both male and female, a domain of interaction between the sexes. Descola privileges the masculine domain as 'social' (he says the house is socially empty if the 'master of the house' is not there (Ibid:157) and qualifies the man as the 'active principle'. He suggests that the act of serving food, offered to the male guest by the 'master of the house's' wife, is devoid of significance. Yet in his book Descola shows that sociality and harmonious domestic life are twin notions for the Achuar as they are for the Cashinahua, and goes to considerable lengths to describe male-female complementarity in its production. The Achuar, he says, praise the toucan for its lifelong fidelity to its spouse; and the wooly monkey for marrying their cross-cousins, since such behaviour is paradigmatic of human moral practice [61]. I would argue that in placing so much emphasis on 'disjunction' between the sphere of 'domestic sociability' and supradomestic interaction, aligning the former with male-female conjunction, and the latter with male-female disjunction, Descola writes the processual nature of Achuar social organization out of the analysis. Nevertheless, his excessively structural approach does reflect the great emphasis that the Achuar place on difference at the expense of integration.

Despite the considerable differences between Jivaroan (such as the Achuar) and 'Panoan' (such as the Cashinahua) social organization, they could be described as 'topological transformations' of each other [62]. Many of the cultural values and basic principles of the two peoples are similar, for instance the value placed upon good conjugal relations, upon harmony amongst close kin, upon generosity, upon working hard, and producing well in other ways such as hunting. However the Achuar have elevated the value of male aggressiveness and the construction of male gender through warfare and violence to such an extent that male-female relations in their society barely resemble those in Cashinahua society. Jivaroan men commonly engage in wife-beating despite the high value placed on conjugal harmony; and female suicide is reported to be relatively common [63]. Linked to the Achuar men's obsession with violence and male strength is their disdain for food. Descola reports that adult men are expected to refrain from eating to show their strength [64]. If sharing of food stands for kinship, and kinship stands for easy human sociality, then Achuar women are at the centre of the process just as Cashinahua women are. Taylor's description of the female use of kin terminology as 'consanguinization' would support this thesis. Men, in rejecting food, disdain social relations and privilege antisocial ones which, while necessary for the production of kinship, are too easily taken to extremes and become destructive of it. This is why the Jivaroan peoples live in what might appear to be a Hobbesian state of anomie and warfare and why more than half the male population dies violently at one another's hands.

The Cashinahua are more successful, by contrast, in elevating 'conjugal harmony' and 'domestic sociality' to its social conclusion in a community. This is reflected both in the size of Cashinahua communities, which are far larger than Achuar; and in the low rate of intra-Cashinahua violence in comparison to intra-Achuar [65].

Male Cashinahua leaders are subject to accusations of anti-social coercive behaviour on occasion, as I have shown. Female leaders are not, and this is directly linked to gender in that female agency does not involve relations with the outside to the same extent as male, nor does it imply the kind of physical and mental strength that male leaders ought to acquire. Nevertheless, as I have shown, coercive inclinations may not be put into effect in the Cashinahua political system without causing the disruption of sociality and the break-up of communities. Male leaders who do wish to behave in an authoritarian fashion do not remain leaders long. Similarily, men who beat their wives soon find themselves abandoned. It is complementarity and harmony within communities that forms the focus of Cashinahua male collective practice as well as social rhetoric, in stark contrast to the homicidal focus of Achuar manhood. Yet like the Achuar the Cashinahua think of 'social regeneration' as deriving from interaction with the external world. In the next chapter I discuss this indigenous vision of social regeneration once again, this time through a focus on ritual.

CHAPTER 5: THE KACHANAUA INCREASE RITUAL

I ended the last chapter with a discussion of community. In this one, I discuss a particular ritual complex, Kachanaua, which is concerned with the never-ending process of the manufacture of community. I show how gender opposition is used in the ritual and how this use relates to the social, economic and political processes described in the last 3 chapters.

In this introductory section I give an account of Cashinahua explanations of Kachanaua which they define amongst other things as a means of 'calling' or 'naming' garden plants, and discuss the multiple functions of this ritual complex, which I then describe in detail in Section (1). In Section (2), I present an interpretation of the ritual in the light of myth analysis, which shows that it is concerned with the proper ordering of the social process, through such themes as the place of sexuality within the kin group. Section (2) is divided into several subsections. I argue in the first subsection that the ritual suggests a rejection of incest, an inherently fallible form of human reproduction, and stresses the importance of categorical distance between partners in sexual and social reproduction. The failure of close relations with the spirit world in mythic times can be used to interpret the present form of relations with both humans and spirits. In the following subsection I discuss dual organization in the light of the ritual. I include a critique of Deshayes and Keifenheim's (1982) interpretation of Kachanaua as an expression of social and political structure. In the next subsection I return to the subject of gender and male-female relations as defined through Kachanaua. I argue that it is only possible to account for the Cashinahua explanations of its purpose if the complementary as well as reciprocal nature of male and female in the production of kin is recognized. The relation between the sexes is shown to be concieved of as both reciprocal interaction and complementary cooperation, as doing things to each other as well as working together to do things. I show that 'sexual antagonism' is not a theme in gender relations. In conclusion, I compare the Cashinahua Kachanaua to Mehinaku pequi fruit rituals, and to Barasana 'He House', in a critical discussion of Gregor's

(1985) analysis of the former, and Steven Hugh-Jones' (1979) analysis of the latter.

In what follows, I give a simple account of how the Cashinahua describe and explain their ritual. They told me that Kachanaua is held to ensure that gardens produce well. People say that they 'call to, name', *kena*, each of the plants in the gardens by means of the ritual. I will argue that just as children are made to grow through being named at *nixpo pima*, so the products of the garden are made to increase and be abundant through naming songs. In other words, Kachanaua is amongst other things primarily an increase ritual.

The Cashinahua distinguish between 'small' and 'real' Kachanaua. Of the two kinds of Kachanaua (small and 'real'), small ones which run only one or two nights are referred to as mere games, só brincadeira. Full-scale Kachanaua take two weeks to a month to perform and involve a series of lesser festivals of the same type as the small Kachanaua building up to a ceremonial giving of food between moieties, and ending with an all-night dance ritual.

Small Kachanaua might be arranged if one of the village leaders feels that there has been a scarcity of meat. Garden-plant naming songs are also sung on these evening dances. Afterwards most of the men of the village spend several days away hunting and fishing. This is undoubtedly a vital function of Kachanaua in most people's eyes. They view it as a means to satisfy the desire to eat meat and fish to the point of satiation. One way of describing Kachanaua is to say that it is "head-making", *buxka vai*. An abundance of heads of game animals is a synonym for the abundance of meat.

Kachanaua is thus both a means of making vegetable life abundant and of achieving large quantities of meat. In the past large Kachanaua was also a means of stimulating the production of large amounts of fermented corn caissuma, but this practice has been abandoned. Nowadays women specially make ordinary unfermented caissuma as well boiled manioc and banana for the food prestations and feasts which follow the hunts. The death of the game animals and fish is connected to the propagation of the fruits and vegetables of the gardens (as I will show). The Cashinahua themselves offered no explanation of this connection to me.

The stimulation of food production and of garden fertility are not the only recognized functions of the ritual, which is also viewed as a means of creating community morale. Smaller Kachanawa are explicitly held to liven up a dull period (pra animar), or to create a mood of animation after a particularilly unhappy period. A sense of buoyancy is an integral aspect of the feeling of community, of the sense that the *mae* is a living and growing entity. Thus a real Kachanaua may well be held after a death, a minor epidemic, or a period of scarcity. People are enthusiastic about the ritual because they have fun. They say that it is a game, that they are playing, *beyus*, the same term used to describe children's games, or sports such as football. Such rituals are described in regional Portuguese as mariri, which are só brincadeira, ('just a game'). Visitors from the city consider mariri as a kind of carnival, and this portrayal seems to have its counterpart in the Cashinahua idea *beyus*. But in fact the carnival aspect, the fun, has a serious religious purpose which the Cashinahua do not stress when describing the festival to outsiders. They say that the songs that name plants are 'prayers', using the term reza as a translation for *deve*. This is linked, as I will show, to the process of making community, which needs an atmosphere of happiness and a mood of animation. When for any reason the people of the community are depressed and activity is slack, then a leader might decide to initiate such a festival. (As happens in Cubeo drinking parties - see Goldman (1963):202). Not only is the ritual aimed at fostering an abundance in the vegetable and animal realm, it is also a tonic for the *mae*, the village. When the vegetables of the garden are made plentiful, the people of the village are assured a means of strength and growth.

Another function of Kachanaua is as a means of defining indigenous identity. When a visiting volunteer or educationalist is about to arrive, leaders think about calling a Kachanaua in order to entertain them, showing how Indians play, como os índios brincam. This is part of the "ethnogenesis" I mentioned in chapter 1. Kachanaua, in Brazilian areas, was in danger of being made logistically impossible because of the physical dispersal of the Cashinahua on colocações. On the Tarauacá it was never forgotten, but in the Énvira area it was felt to be too damaging to individual interests due to the negative characterization of anything caboclo in Cariú eyes. Even the oldest inhabitants of Fronteira told me that they had never seen a Kachanaua festival until their relatives from Peru arrved in the village.

This situation has now been reversed. The Cashinahua now have a justification for turning this negative evaluation of such cultural markers on its head, since they and their culture have found admiring external witnesses from the cities. More important, perhaps, they have the political and logistic means to perform rituals of this type, now that they have regrouped in the reserves. They make full political use of this opportunity. However, it would be wrong to overstress this "ethnic self-affirmation" aspect of Kachanaua. The major rituals are not conducted from this point-of-view and take place with or without external stimulation such as the presence of volunteers and political rights workers.

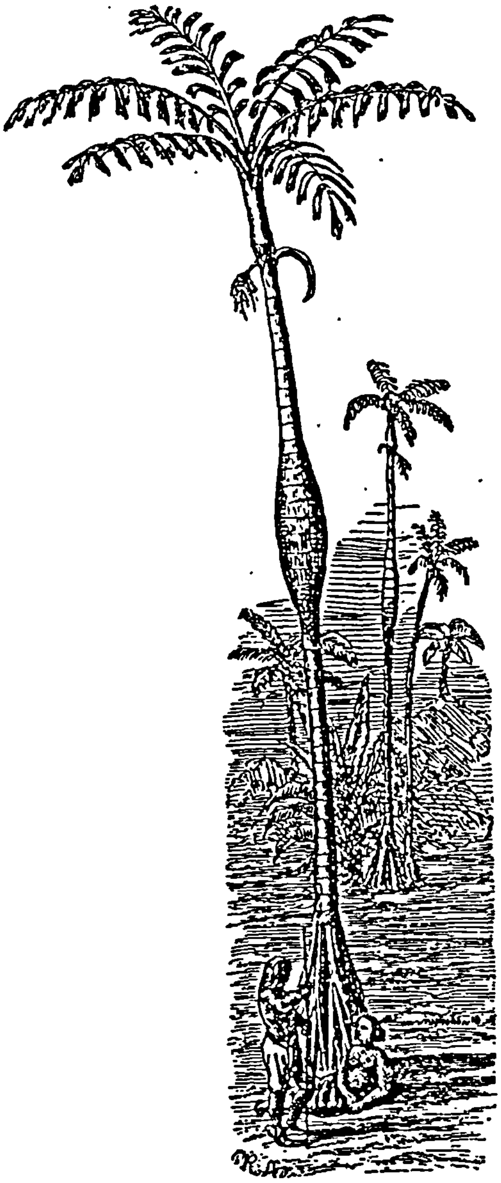
Kachanaua can be held during any time of the year, but is most likely to be held during the months of the rainy season, and especially around December to February when the main ridge garden corn crop ripens. This time of year is called *xekitian*, corn-time. If it is held at this time it might be combined with the initiation ritual for children, *nixpo pima* (see chapter 2). In many areas of Amazonia an abundance of fresh corn signals the time for the holding of major festivals of this kind [1].

Both men and women participate in Kachanaua, but the leading protaganists at the highpoint, the food prestations, are male - either men, or women playing a men. People distinguish not only between real and play Kachanawa, but also between women's, *ainbunaki*, and men's, *junibunaki*. During the women's Kachanaua a central aspect of the culminating day is gender role reversal. In both men's and women's Kachanaua both men and women participate.

I witnessed one man's and one woman's Kachanaua, and six lesser ones. (all mens') The man's was held in Recreio on the Brazilian side of the frontier, and the woman's was held in Conta on the Peruvian side. Three of the lesser Kachanaua I witnessed were held in Recreio, and 3 on the Jordão. In section (1) I describe an ideal Kachanaua, with particular reference to the one I witnessed in Recreio. To conclude the description I will make some comparisons with the other Kachanaua rituals that I saw, especially the woman's one in Conta.

Section 1: The Kachanaua Ritual

Kachanaua may be initiated by any leading man in the village, either as his own idea or in response to a suggestion from someone in his family [2]. He ought to inspire village-wide collaboration, which is not always the case, especially in the larger settlements. The initiator gets support by calling a meeting. The Recreio Kachanaua was initiated by the leader with the support of Zé Augusto, his ex-father-in-law, the leading chantleader of the village. It was held during the first two weeks of November just after the planting of the new gardens. It was intended, Pancho told me, to end a period of unhappiness during which several important people had died, including his first wife Luisa, Zé Augusto's daughter, and Sampaio, the father of his second. Various others disasters had befallen the village, such as a month-long influenza epidemic and a period of meat and trade-good shortage. Pancho explained to me that the Kachanaua would cheer everyone up; it would also celebrate the end of a period of hard work by the young men, who had cleared a demarcation path around the reserve. The following account of this Kachanaua is illustrated by the photos at the end of this section.



Bulging-stemmed Palm :
Pashiúba barrigudo
(Iriartea ventricosa).

(From Bates "The River Amazons" (1910) - page 248).

FIGURE 21: The Bottle Palm

In order to announce and discuss his decision to initiate a large Kachanaua, Pancho called a meeting. He began the proceedings by asking his mother-in-law, who had lost both husband and eldest daughter, if she wanted a Kachanaua. She agreed, and several other women added their support. The leader then asked again, addressing the assembled women, and they responded with a cry of *Jeee*, an expression of happiness. He then turned to the men, who as usual were sitting apart, and asked:

> 'Since there are many beautiful women, do you want to liven yourselves up?' [3].

The men responded with a cry of *Jeee*, indicating their approval. That same afternoon several young men went to the forest close to the village and a Dua moiety man felled a bottle palm tree (see Figure 21) [4]. One person told me that this meant that the Kachanaua was Dua's. A section about three metres long was cut, hollowed out, and attached to a pole by means of bark strips. This was the *kacha* (See Figure 22). It was carried back, slung on the shoulders of two Inu men, to the village to the accompaniment of rythmic shouts of *Je Je Je*. Noone paid much attention, except for small children, who began playing with the *kacha* or hollowed out section of the palm trunk, as soon as it was dumped on the patio in front of the leader's house, where the dancing was to be held. In the past the *kacha* would have been used as a container for fermenting caissuma in preparation for the final night of the ritual (see below). Over the next two weeks it was progressively destroyed by children, and the village cow, until it was actually broken up by young men on the final night.

In the early evening people began to gather in the leader's house and on the patio in front of it; about ten women linked arms and hands and began walking around the kacha, repeating the chants after the female chantleader. She sang songs which are known as *Ju Ju*. after the rythmic sound which is used to punctuate each verse. After half-an-hour the women stopped and everyone went home. Someone commented that things only get really lively when the men take part.

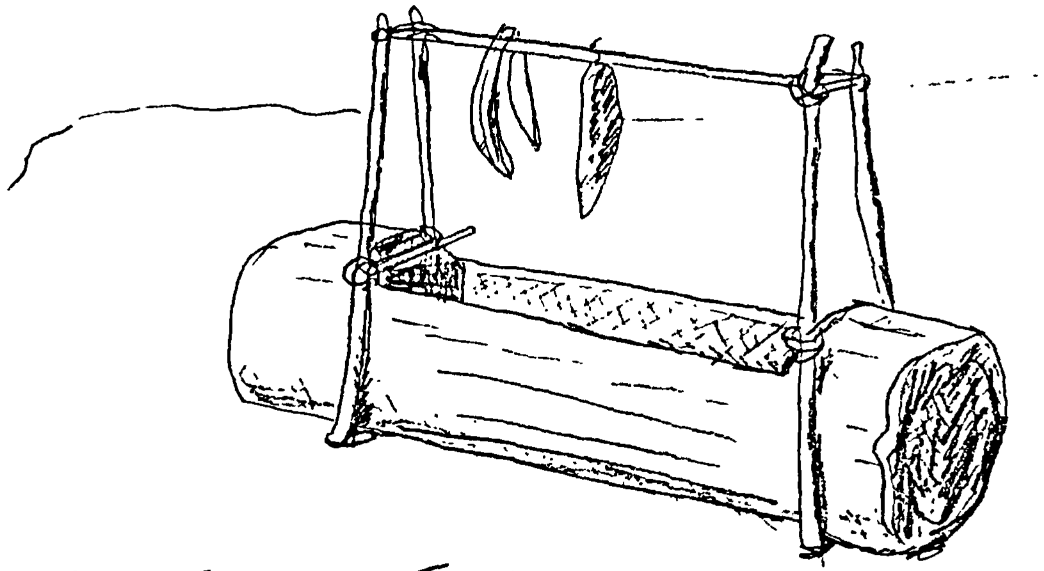


FIGURE 22: The Kacha

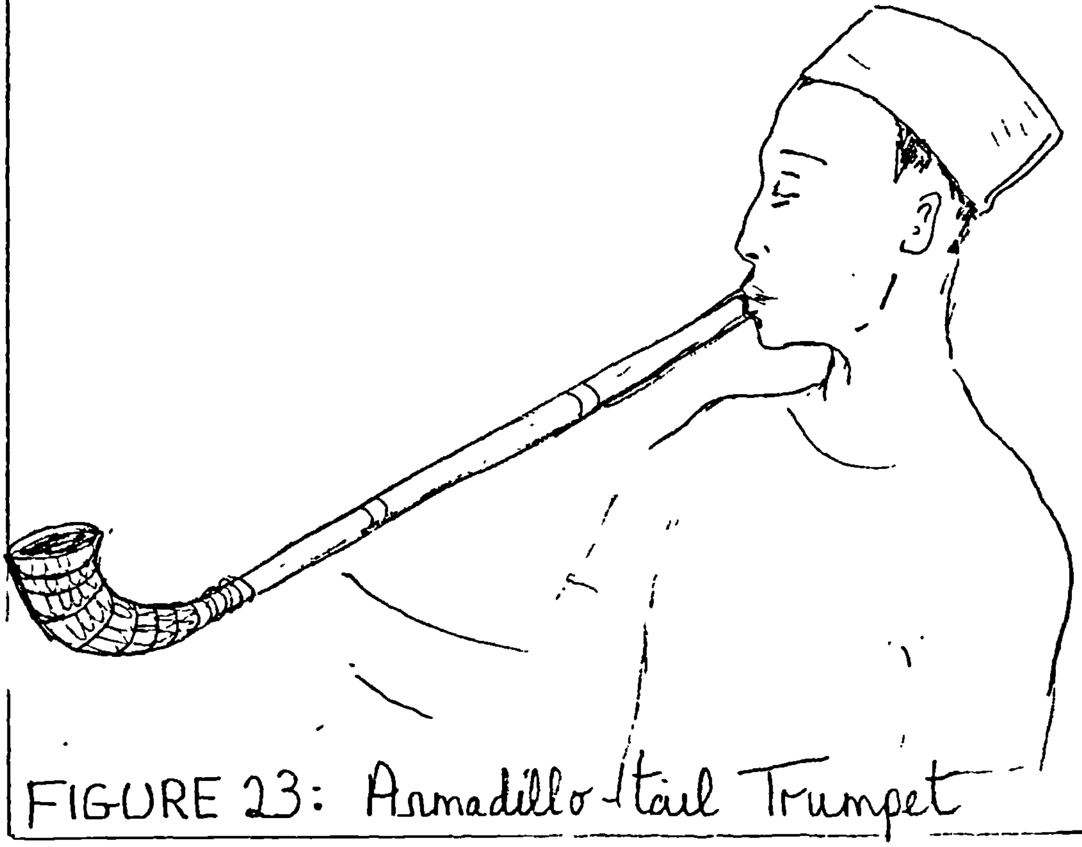


FIGURE 23: Armadillo-tail Trumpet

I have called the songs, of which there are male and female types, "Ho Ho" songs, as the Cashinahua do. They are the most important songs or *deve* to be sung during the various nights of the ritual [5]. Their rythmn marks the step of the dance or *nava*, which should pick up soon after the participants begin walking in a circle. Women link arms, holding hands, and step sideways, crossing their feet with a gentle swing at the end of each beat. Men put their arms over each others shoulders, and their dancing tends to be more vigourous and uniform. Some women merely walk to the rythmn. The word for dance, of any kind, is *nava*; thus *kachanava* means 'the dance of the kacha'. *Nava* (or as I have been writing it - 'Nawa') also means foreigner and sometimes spirit.

Several nights after the women's gentle start, a similar dance was held; this time men participated from the beginning, and a male chantleader, a *chana xanen ibu*, led the singing. The formation was typical: The dancers formed a circle around the kacha, men on one side and women on the other, eldest women walking in front of the younger. Children tagged on at the end of the women when the circle was not closed, or held onto the adults clothing, forming appendages in clumps of twos and threes on the outside, if they were not playing in the centre or darting through the legs of the dancers. Participation in Kachanaua is entirely voluntary, though on this occasion as on many others most of the men were young, and most of the women were without young children. A large crowd, outnumbering the participants, sat on logs, benches, or upturned tortoise shells around the edges of the patio, sometimes in family groups, but mostly men and women separately. The front of the leader's house was taken over by women, who held sleeping babies in their laps or swung them in hammocks which they had brought with them. There was no moon and the kerosene lamps threw a weak yellow light, forming pools in the blackness.

The first line of the song is sung by the chantleader and then it is repeated by the dancers. Men repeat in the same gentle tone as the chantleader, whereas the women use a harsher pitch, which rises at the end, creating a contrast with the smooth male melody. A typical song is as follows:

Ho ho ho ho, Ho ho ho ho,
Ho ho Ho ho
Its juice dripping
Maize juice dripping
Dripping, dripping
Ho ho ho ho, Ho ho ho ho,
Peanut juice dripping
Dripping, dripping
Ho ho ho ho, Ho ho ho ho,
Manioc juice dripping
Dripping, dripping
Ho ho ho ho, Ho ho ho ho,
Banana juice dripping
etc. [6].

This is a woman's Ho Ho song. Men's Ho Ho chants share this repetitive structure, and are also punctuated with meaningless phrases marking the rythmn. "Ho ho ho ho" is the most common which is the reason this kind of song is referred to as "Ho Ho". While the limited set of formulas are constantly repeated, the referent is changed, so that all the products of the garden are named. The songs are in 'Old One's language', *xenipabu jancha*, and are only partially intelligible to most people. Most of the older persons who lead the chanting do understand them, however. Everybody is aware that their purpose is to summon and name the vegetables, and the names of the plants in the songs are their everyday names, not esoteric metaphors as one might expect. This "ancestor language" has yet to be properly studied. Townsley has published a paper on Yaminahua shamanic curing songs which shows that the esoteric language of such songs employs many subtle metaphoric allusions to things and avoids naming directly [7]. It remains to be seen why curing songs use such subtleties and *deve* of the Ho Ho type do not.

The following is the first song that was sung in a mini-Kachanaua performed on the Jordão, in Seringal Boa Esperanza. The singers were Perreirinha and his son Nilo:

Ho ho ho, Ho ho ho,
Chai came to get me
Chai came to get me
The Chais came

The way the fish go upriver
The way they go downriver
Chai came to get me
Make caissuma for me
Hua maize caissuma
Give me to drink
Drink it with Chai
Drink it with Inca
With the Inca people
Give me to drink
Drink the swirling liquid
Drink it with our Chai
Ho ho ho, Ho ho ho,
Ho ho ho, Ho ho ho,
etc. [8].

In this song, the relationship between the incoming spirits, who are equated with the Inca people, is stated clearly as one of affinity. They came to get the people, took them back to their village, and gave them maize caissuma to drink. The song continues, and in each verse the same lines are repeated, but the name of the food is different. The singer mentions all different kinds of vegetable foods [9].

In the next song, the rythmn changes to a four beat. The song refers to the cultivated plants in turn, as always, and of their growth (*kanɨ-* , used repeatedly in the song, means "to mature of a plant"). The plants are growing on high land, or on the beach [10].

All the songs I recorded are about vegetables and fruits that are cultivated in the gardens, and none of them are about game animals or fish. In the recordings of the Kachanaua in Recreio, one song is about each of the plants growing on the high land [11]. Another names them as new and green [12].

Whilst the singers circled around the *kacha*, the onlookers talked in low voices, or sat watching in silence; but soon the calm mood began to give way to one of excitement, as the danceleader changed the tempo and in response to increased trumpet-blowing and shouts of *Jeee!* from the men. The dancers began to leap at speed around the patio (*ixchubain-*), a dangerous operation on a moonless night. The fast rythmn contrasted with the more stately sway of the earlier dancing, to the beat of a Hoho song. It depends on the chantleader whether or not the dancing takes this more energetic turn; it could simply change to sexual taunting without any jumping.

On this particular night in Recreio, the taunting began within an hour of the start. This is an exchange of insults between men and women, which has a competitive flavour. It is referred to as *Kaxin* (vampire bat) or *Jina Ichaka* (penis insulting). At the instigation of the chantleader, the men began taunting the women with cries of "vampire bat" or *kaxin* a perjorative euphemism for vagina [13]. The cries obey a staccato rythmn which increases as the men begin adding other references such as *jue* (a frog), *jeu* (a large toad) and other mainly inedible and unpleasant animals. Before long one of the elder women began the plaintive first bars of the *jina ichaka* song, the melody of which contrasts strongly with the men's shouting. Each woman sings her insults independently, but extending the last sound out so that there is a continuous hum at the same pitch as that of the other women. Yet their insults can be heard clearly, and provoke more and more hilarity as they become inspired and invent new and hilarious comparisons for male sexual organs. A conventional insult:

> Just like a huge tortoise neck
> Same as a big tapir penis [14].

After a while several women slipped off into the darkness to collect bundles of palm-straw from the roofs of abandoned houses, or old chicken huts. All the women and most of the older men left the circle of dancers, who continued their taunts in a taut tempo, punctuated by staccato shouts of *Je*. The straw bundles completed, they were lit in the embers of cooking fires, and the women came running holding out the flames and sweeping them at the legs of the men. Often they aim for particular men, usually their husbands, but in fact any woman can attack any man. In order to avoid their fast-moving pursuers (even great-grandmothers are capable of great bursts of speed) the still chanting dancers were leaping and running and the circle itself no longer kept to course around the kacha, but zipped all over the patio and into the edges of the darkness.

By this time the bodies of the men were glistening with sweat, which meant that they were not actually burnt by the flames; however if they had been, I was told, it would mean that they would be protected from snakebite. The women shouted rather than sung phrases from the taunting song between gasps for breath, as they went in to attack. All of a sudden they succeeded in breaking up the circle, and various women set off after particular men around and through the houses. Some spectators found themselves obliged to take to their heels.

The flames quickly die out, and the attackers return often to relight them or to make new bundles. During one of these lulls the men managed to regroup, and when they were attacked again succeeded in catching hold of several women and dragged them, struggling with all their might, into the circle of dancing men.

The noise, excitement and activity of Kachanaua are in stark contrast to the peaceful activities that are part of a normal evening, when people sit quietly talking, the men relaxed in hammocks or on benches, and the women spinning cotton by lamplight.

There were another three small Kachanaua before the finale. An interval of five days preceded the final day, during which the men intensified their hunting and fishing in order to be able to amass plenty of surplus game. They set out in small groups of twos and threes. One group slashed a path into a little hunted area where certain kinds of game were said to abound They built a shelter, and stayed there hunting and felling caucho for a week. Others went on family camping trips to nearby lakes for three or four days, after fish and caiman. Some men decided not to participate, or limited their hunting to the day before the finale. The meat and fish, preserved by daily smoke-roasting over a low fire, was brought back to the village. The hunters waited for each other outside the village, and came in altogether, handing their prominently displayed catch over to their mothers if unmarried, and wives or mothers-in-law if married. The meat was stored by the woman responsible. There was much excitement and each house was buzzing with talk of who had caught what.

The women began intensifying their preparations for the finale. In the early morning the following day one of the older women invited the others to harvest manioc in her garden, and an adult woman from every house in the village, accompanied perhaps by a girl, joined the crowd gathering in one of the houses, bringing her basket and a machete. As always, the hostess served boiled manioc and a little meat to the waiting group, before they were ready to set out [15]. This particular collective harvest was very festive and the women laughed and joked more than usual.

The men had also brought back genipapo fruit for their women, and that afternoon, after the cooking was done, they set about painting designs on each other's faces and bodies. Once the colourless genipapo was ready, urucu was smeared on the person's face, and rubbed in to form a pale orangey layer; this is the only occasion when urucu is used as a base for genipapo. It is never used to excess and when I applied too much on myself, the women laughed and said I looked like a Kulina. After this the design, *kene*, is drawn by one of the elder women. A variety of diferent designs are used, the same as those woven in cotton objects. Some of the men were also painted. Men and women use contrasting combinations of designs. The colourless paint turns black within an hour of application.

That evening the *kacha* was prepared. Two poles were erected at each end of the section of bottle palm log and a cord strung with a few manioc tubers and bananas was strung over the hollow in its centre (see Figure 22).

The following dawn a trumpet blast summoned people to the leader's house, for the *Kachanaua Chanikinan*, the official announcement that the ceremony is to be held (see Figure 23) [16]. After breakfast in the leader's house, a group of Dua men, but not Pancho himself, walked into the forest on the downriver side of the settlement as far as a clump of palm trees, and began cutting down the fronds to make their ornaments or *dau*. In the village frequent trumpet blasts and shouts of *Jeee* could be heard from their direction. Suddenly the noise began to increase in volume and frequency, and everyone knew that the "visitors" were approaching the village. Several Inani women (i.e. the wives and mothers of the Dua men) had already joined them, but were indistinguishable under the palm fronds as the group came into sight at the edge of the village, arms linked and in close formation, two or three abreast. These are the *yuxin*, forest spirits, who have come to visit.

Chanting, jumping forward and letting out trumpet blasts, the group gathered momentum as it neared the patio and the kacha. From either side of the path a "reception committee" of Inu moiety men, brandishing guns, machetes and other instruments, leapt out of hiding in a mock ambush. Shouting out, they rushed up to them and grabbed their arms, thus joining into the procession as it swept into the patio. Several men let off their guns, the explosions echoing through the length of the village and causing young mothers to cover their babies' ears.

The men of the recieving moiety greeted their affines with the ancestral formula *Aniwa Chain* or "Welcome Brother-in-law Cousin", the equivalent of the modern greeting *Min ma juai?*, "Are you arriving?", in "ancestor language", *xenipabu jancha*. The group circled the kacha once before throwing off their decorations onto a heap and taking their places on stools and benches placed in a semi-circle, at the leader's direction, around the patio. All the Dua men and boys sat down, whether or not that had come in disguised as spirits, except those who had not been hunting and felt unable to participate because they had no meat or fish to offer in return that evening.

The Inani women, dressed in their best, hair combed and oiled, faces carefully painted with lipstick or urucu over the genipa, took their places behind their Dua husbands. The Banu women (i.e. the sisters and mothers-in-law of the Dua) made ready to prepare plates of food for their Inu husbands or sons to give. While the Dua had been decorating themselves in the forest their sisters and mothers-in-law, the Banu, had been bringing baskets of cooked meat and pans of manioc, banana and caissuma and setting them up close to the patio. In accordance with their Inu son's or husbands instructions, the meat was already divided according to the number of presents required. Pancho, for example, calculated that he and his two eldest sons would give away 32 pieces of meat and fish in the return giving that afternoon.

He was in fact the first to receive a present, from one of his wife's two brothers, who offered him a howler-monkey head decorated with a pair of red macaw feathers and flanked with a few pieces of boiled manioc [17]. Heads are the most prized part of an animal's anatomy (see below). He handed the enamel plate to the leader saying *Aniwa Chain* and crying *Jii-ii-iii* in a high-pitched tone. Pancho then handed the plate to his wife, who tipped the contents into a waiting pan and handed it back to her brother.

Other men and boys began taking their gifts to their *chais*, offering the best pieces to their actual brother-in-law, or to the eldest and most senior, but not omitting very young boys. Inu fathers directed their young sons to the latter's *Chais*, thus indirectly giving to their sons-in-law. The givers returned each time to the women who made up the plates for them, or handed them pans and buckets of corn caissuma or banana drink. Thus, in effect, women hand the food to men in an affinal relation to them, who formally give to men who are their own actual or categorical affines, who hand the food to their own spouses, who will shortly serve their husbands with what food they take to the communal meal. The marked prestation amidst all this is between the men who call each other 'brother-in-law' or *chai*. But the women take charge of the food again once it has been given.

Once the flurry of giving was over, about 20 minutes after it started, the leader arranged some of the discarded palm decorations to form a mat, and each man brought a plate of food and, perhaps, a pan of caissuma, and placed it in the centre. The feast began, the men diving in to retrieve a chunk of meat and a piece of manioc, before sitting back on stools and benches to eat and chat. Nearly all the women and children retired to the leaders' house, where they too ate collectively, sitting on the floor around the bowls and plates each had contributed from the food received by their husbands, each mother feeding her own children from separate plates. Some women ate in their own houses, because their husbands had not taken part in the hunting and meat-giving preparations. The remaining meat was taken back to the houses and stored or hidden by the women. This same meat cannot be given back during the afternoon session.

By 10.00a.m. the feast was over, and everyone dispersed to work or rest as they pleased. Some visitors from Fronteira went fishing, in order to be able to make prestations during the afternoon. Most families enjoyed a large lunch as soon as their appetites returned, sitting in their own houses.

In the afternoon a group of Inu men went into the forest at the opposite or upstream end of the village to prepare their *dau* (decorations). These were as is usual more elaborate than the morning "visitors'"; the preparations took appreciably longer and involved some tooing and froing, as feather headresses, bamboo crowns, beads and so on were fetched [18]. The decorations consist of chest-straps, half-skirts hanging down at the back, crowns of long trailing fronds, and wound-in leaves; these are worn over bamboo or feather crowns, and everyday Western style clothes. Tall palm fronds are held in front of each dancer's face.

The Inu entered the village in the same noisy style as Dua had in the morning, were ambushed, and escorted to the kacha with greetings of *Aniwa Chain*. Once again they were accompanied by a few women of the opposite moiety, Banu. The circle did not break up, however, but fell to dancing around the Kacha to a Ho Ho chant. They danced for about 20 minutes, until the sun was low over the horizon, and the chantleader's wife told him it was time to give the presents of food. It was he who arranged the Inu feast as the leader had done for Dua in the morning (see above - the details are the same).

There was a short interval after the meal, when people took back their pots and pans, collected hammocks for their babies, and came back in time to watch or take part in the dancing. This began at dusk, and continued until one o'clock, when the remaining dancers dispersed. Chanters sang both Ho Ho songs and sexual taunts, but there was no fire-play, which is only supposed to take place at the beginning of the series of dances. Ideally the dancers should continue until dawn, and there is such an abundance of caissuma that it is vomited up into the kacha hollow, I was told [19]. During the night this was broken up and the pieces carried off by young men to the hammocks of those who have not resisted the desire to go to sleep. This is *nexman-* to submerge, grope for fish deep underwater, to enter the mosquito-net of a member of the opposite sex with seductive intentions. I was unable to discover if any of the young men actually seduced their victims. In the morning the remains of the kacha were broken up and thrown into the forest.

I have described the Recreio ritual as a typical example of Kachanaua; but before bringing this section to a close it is useful to make a few comparisons with the Conta ritual, which was a woman's one (see photos), and the other small dances I saw in Recreio and along the Jordão river.

In Conta the men spent less time hunting than in Recreio, just 2 or 3 days, and there was only a small dance prior to the hunt, and another on the night before the giving. Only a minority of the men and women of this large village took part. In the morning Inani women collected at a downriver part of the village, by a Dua man's house, where their husband's made them *dau* and dressed them. As they waited they painted their teeth black with *nixpo* and painted designs with lipstick on top of the genipapo which had been painted on the day before. The women were playing their husbands, whom they could address by their own real name (and vice versa) for the day. This is because the spirits, whom the women become for the day, are male. Conversely the human potential spouses of the spirits are female.

Because of the gender role reversal, the Inani are in fact Dua. In the other two entrances I observed on the Jordão, it was also the Dua who arrived in the morning, and, as in Conta, they came from downriver.

As the Conta Inani or "Dua" entered the village, their husbands following behind with carrying baskets and holding babies, they were "surprised" by Banu ("Inu") holding weapons and greeting them with "*Aniwa Chain*" ("Welcome Brother-in-law"). After the food-giving the fifteen receivers shared a hasty feast before dispersing to their own houses to feed their families. In the afternoon Banu's costumes were again more elaborate than their sisters-in-laws' had been, and the entrance was followed by a short period of dancing around the kacha. Each of those who had given food in the morning received a present in return. Only those who had meat or fish as well as vegetable foods participated. Only women danced women during the first two hours, after which they called to onlooking men to help them. It was explained to me that the elderly woman chantleader was too tired to continue all night.

During one of the following intervals a group of young men and boys, dressed in palm-leaves to represent spirits (*yuxin*) entered the patio and gave a performance which can best be described as a parody of Kachanaua dancing. Their movements were exaggerated and they sang in hoarse, disguised voices to great comic effect. There was much hilarity among the spectators. After about ten minutes the boy-spirits ended by kicking the kacha, and the women and their male helpers began to dance again. During the next interval two un-named "spirits", one male and one female, both well-disguised young men wearing masks and comic clothes, arrived and began clowning. They pretended to scare the spectators, and the female spirit dropped a bundle from under her skirt [20]. Shortly after this the leader, who had been observing the proceedings from his hammock, participating only by blowing his trumpet from time to time and shouting, gave directions for the younger men to break up the kacha. This was done and the dancing continued until dawn.

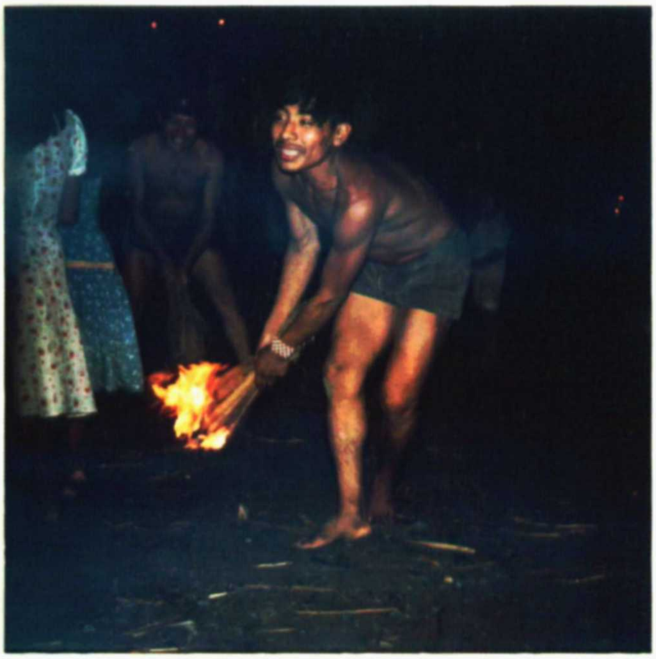


PLATE 1. The fire game - men chasing women.

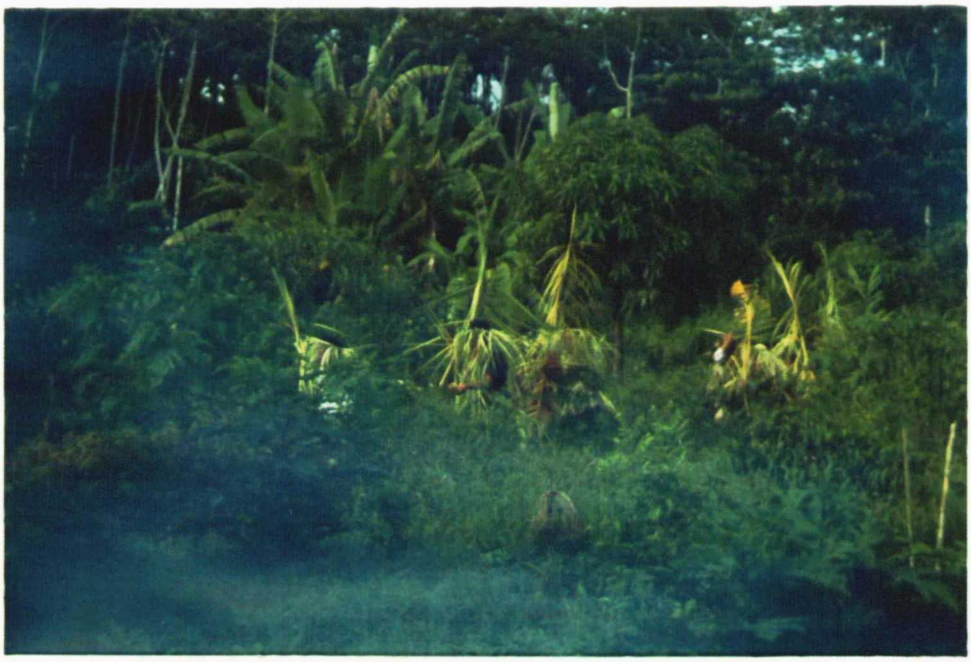


PLATE 2. 'Yuxin' (spirits) emerging from the forest in the morning.

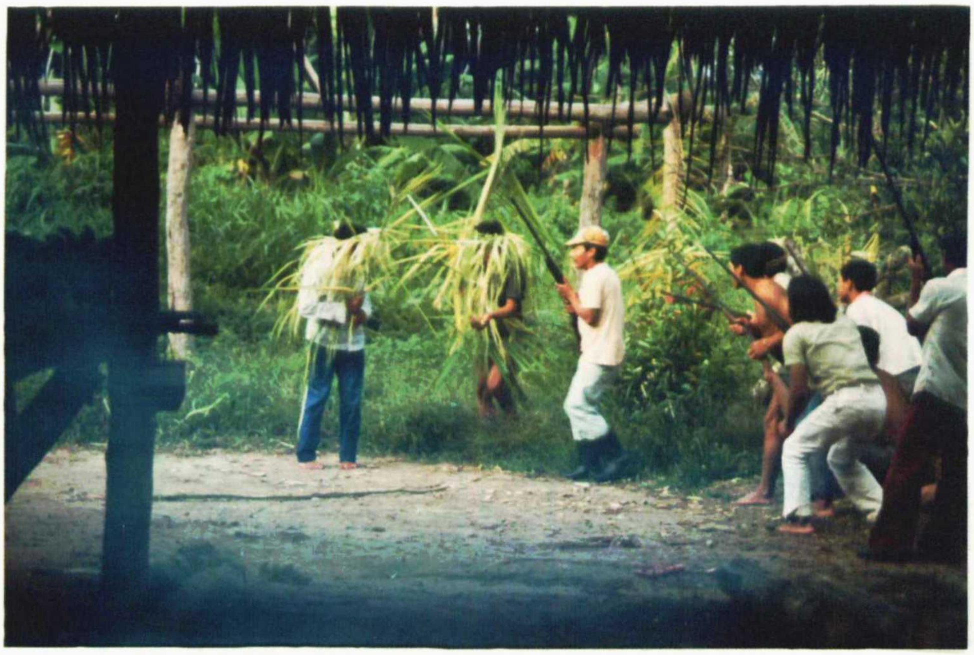


PLATE 3. The Ambush: 'Inubakebu', holding weapons, leap out at the Duabakebu - the 'yuxin' - as they enter the village.

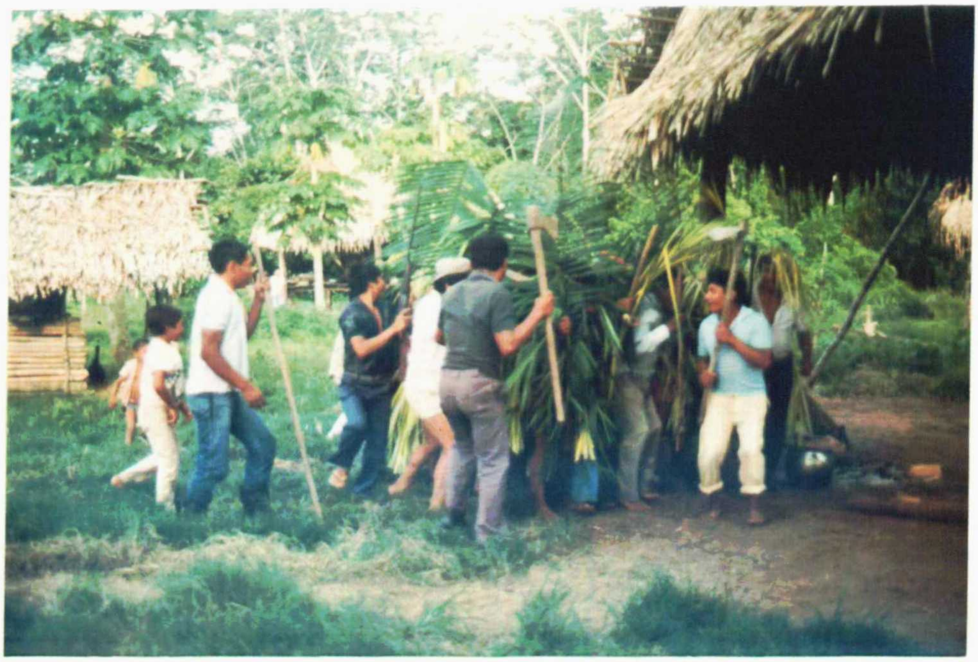


PLATE 4. Greeting the 'yuxin' as 'chai' (brothers-in-law).

PLATE 5. Bringing the 'yuxin' to the village centre.

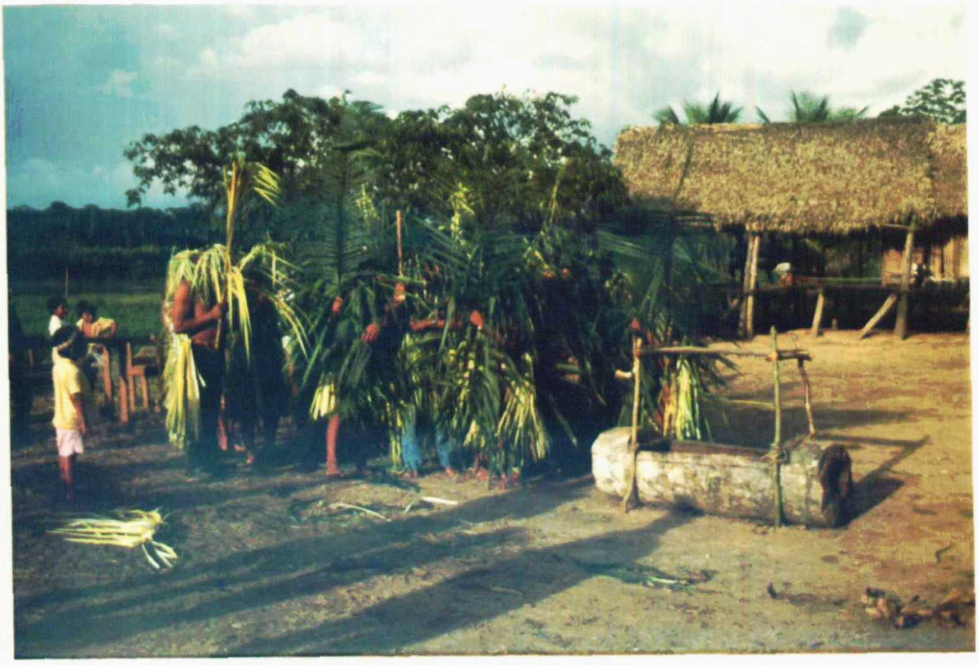


PLATE 6. Arriving at the centre of the village, where the kacha has been placed. (NOTE - this photo was taken during the afternoon. The Inubakebu are the 'yuxin' in this case.

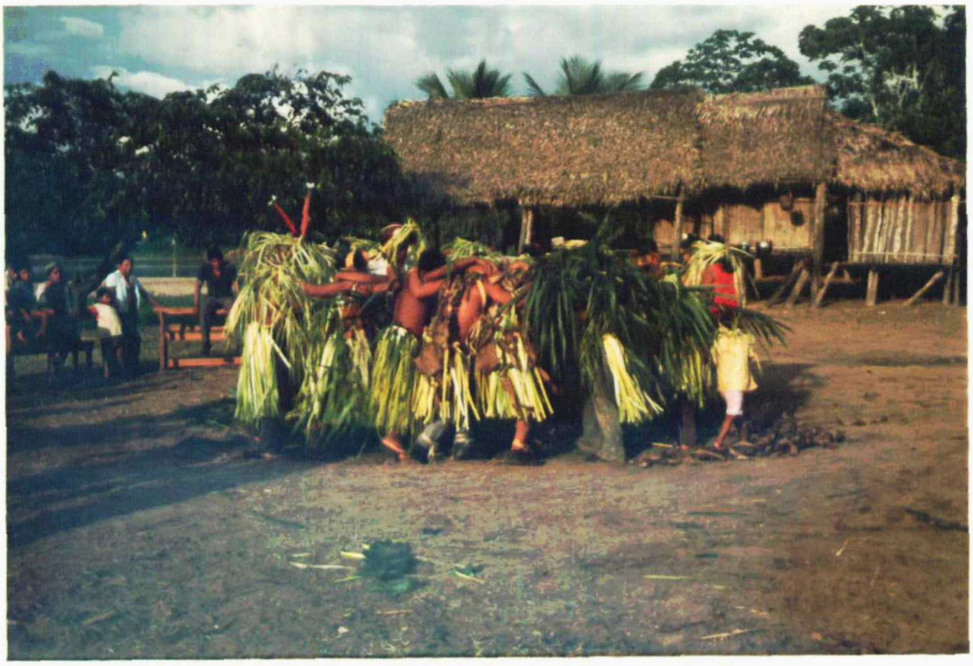


PLATE 7. Dancing Ho Ho around the kacha.

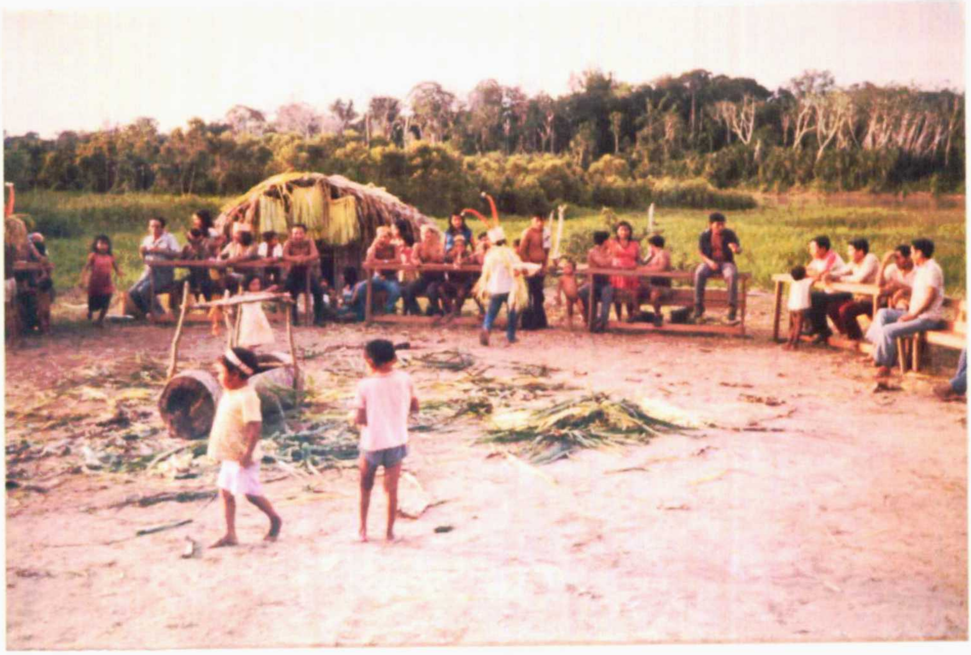


PLATE 8. The Inubakebu await food prestations from their chais (brothers-in-law). Note the divested *dau* (palm leaf decorations) around the kacha.

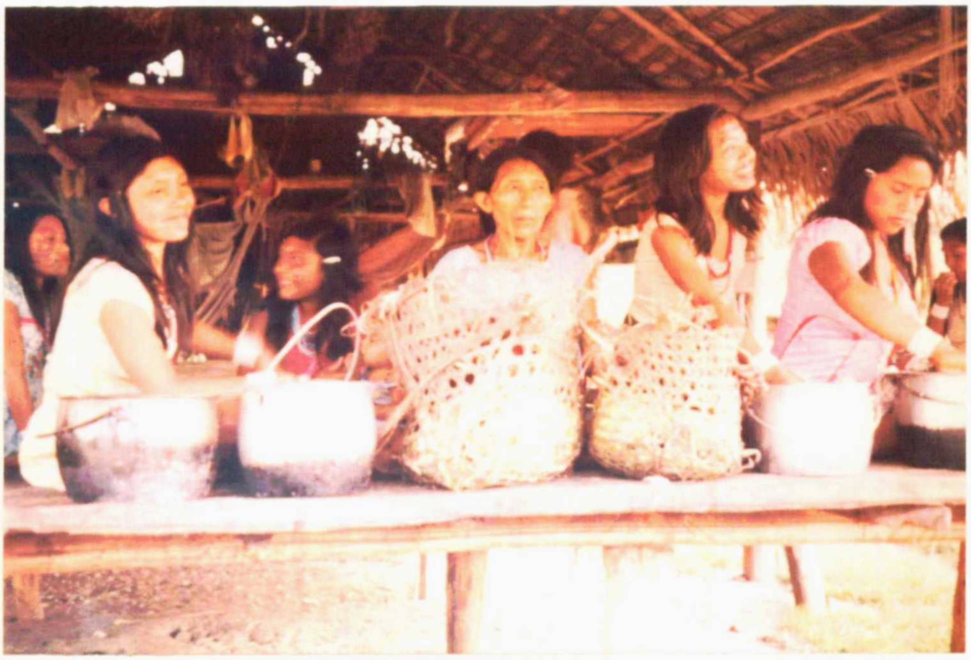


PLATE 9. Women waiting to serve food to their husbands.

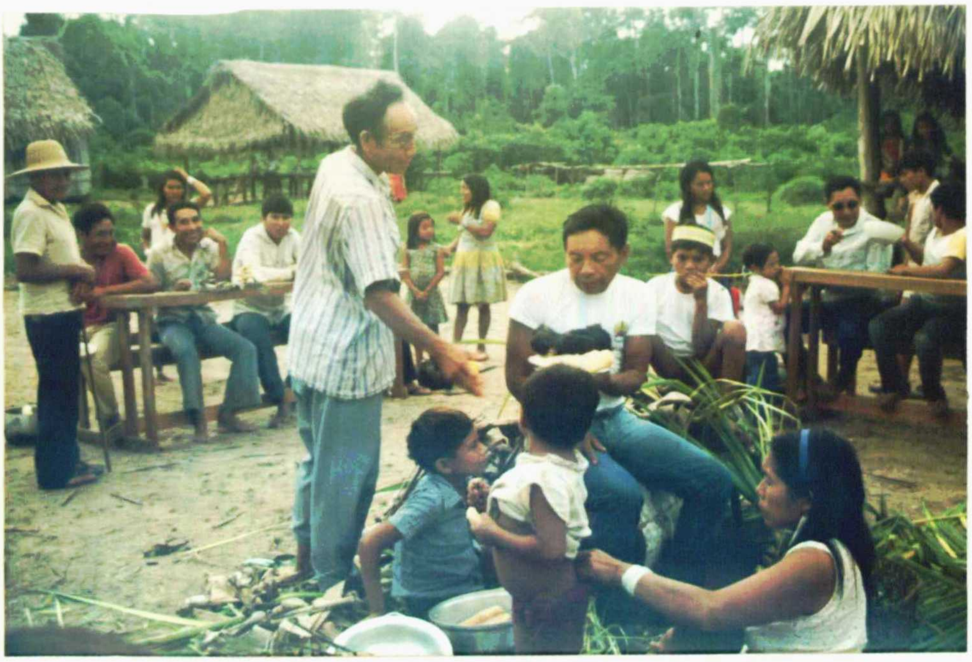


PLATE 10. Zé Augusto Senior (Inu) gives food to his chai Montenegro (Dua). Montenegro's wife sits beside him waiting to store the food in her pans and baskets. Pancho sits in the background (wearing dark glasses), flanked by his wife and his eldest son.

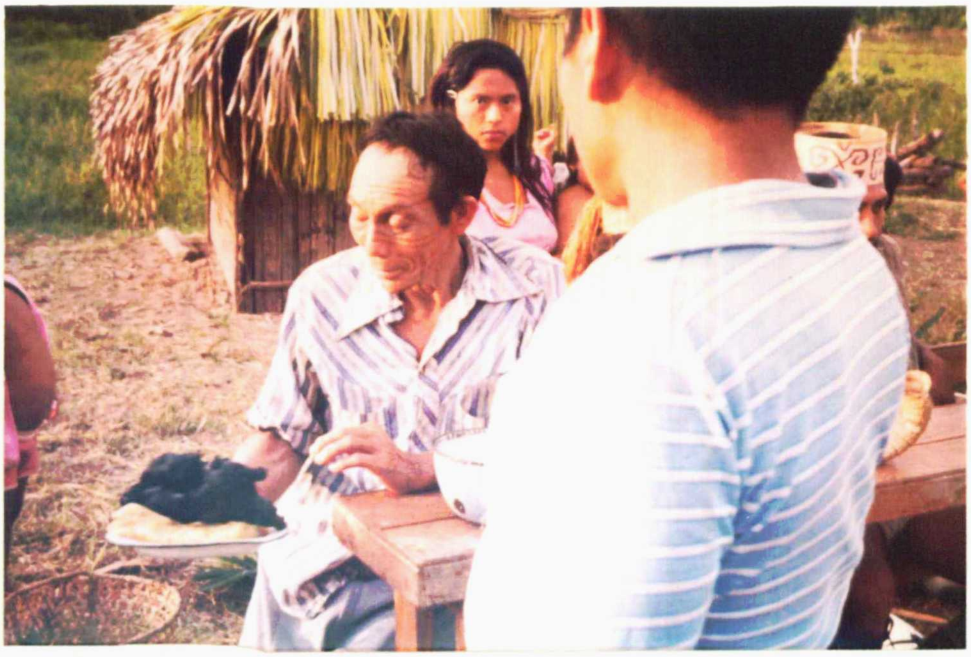


PLATE 11. Montenegro makes a return prestation to Zé Augusto.

PLATE 12. Dancing around the kacha (*ixchubain* - running and jumping).

PLATE 13. Ho Ho dancing at night.

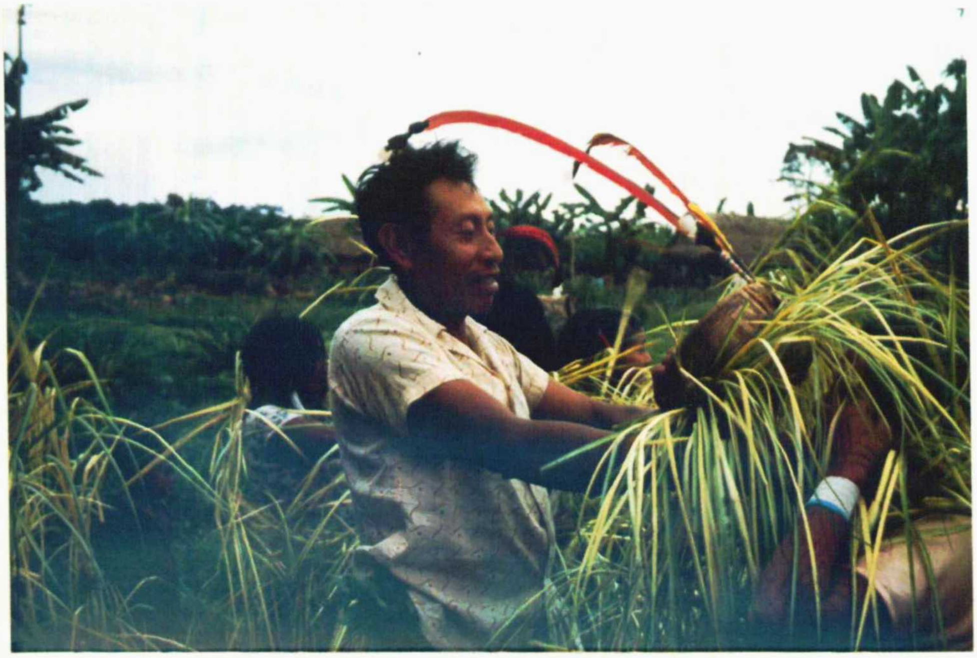


PLATE 14. Woman's Kachanaua in Conta. A man decorates his wife in preparation.

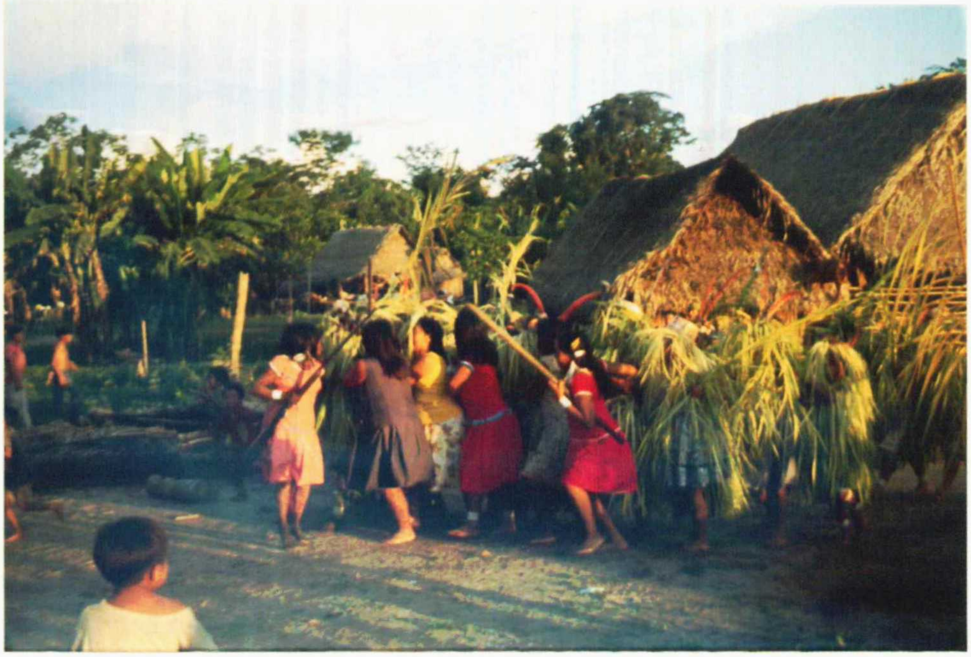


PLATE 15. Women's Kachanaua in Conta - the ambush.

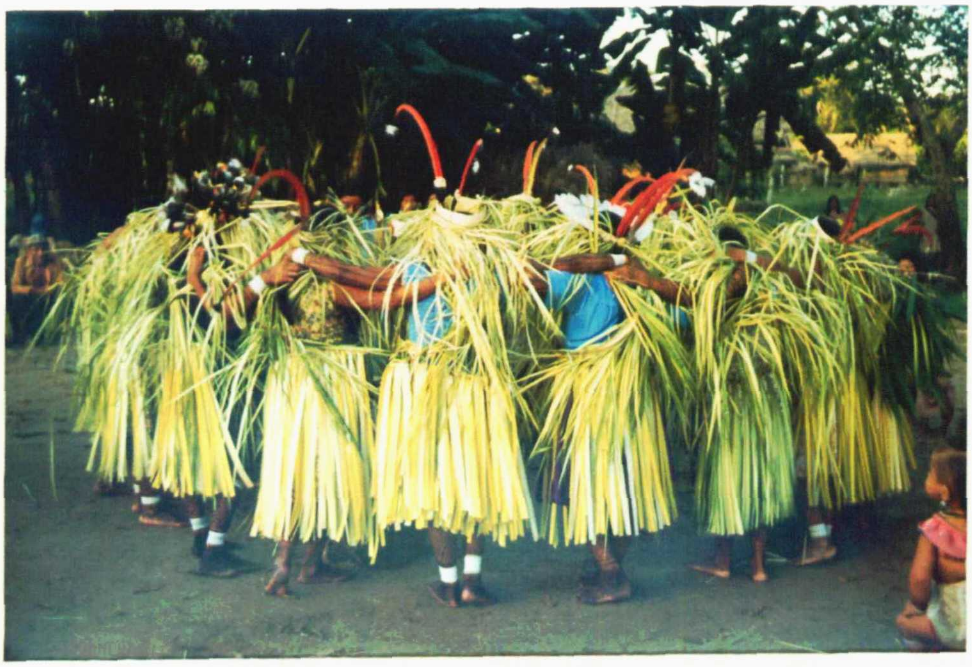


PLATE 16. Woman's Kachanaua in Conta - Ho Ho dancing.

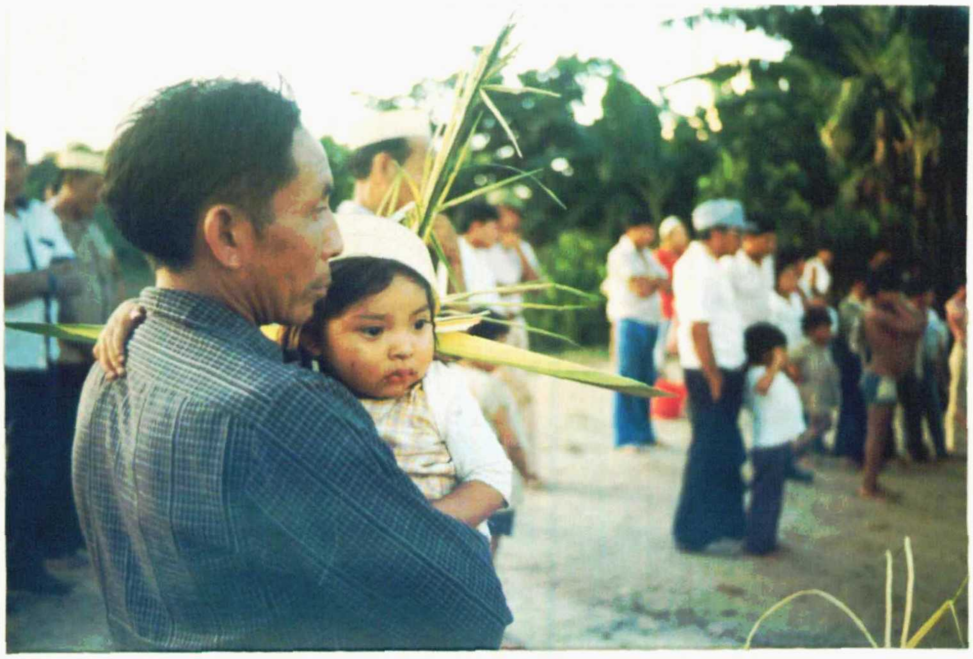


PLATE 17. Woman's Kachanaua in Conta - man watching wife dance.

unu buaibu, Navapktnvn javen pae atan ispais jiku madamaya ikaya unu java manankidi paxabuxianbu javen nabu mavanikiaki uivenkauankin ja Navapaketanvan inkajene kauankin teneinkiki aka. Uinya, matsi tenanikiaki. Tena juabu, yuiya "bauxinainunve!" iki, ma aka, - janua ja mesti dakaxun javen daisbu ja yuixu, keska vakin jubuki en dau chakabu chachibaintsakabu jubu suikaini yunatan, yunachakayama, uxa jatia debunikiaki. Tres diadan. Tres uxadan. Uinya, Navapaketanvan.."TUN" Debunibukiaki.

Section 2: Interpretation of Kachanaua

Rivière mentions a Trio ritual which seems very similar in intent to the Cashinahua Kachanaua. He says:

> '..while the Trio dance festival is an institutionalized way of bringing the outside inside, it also contains the means of restoring things to their normal if repatterned state' (1969:240).

Kachanaua is certainly an institutionalized means of bringing the outside inside. I would not apply the latter part of his analysis of the Trio festival, which he elaborates as follows: He says it represents

> '..social intercourse rather than isolation, friendship rather than suspicion, community rather than individual interest. It is a period during which mythical unity is achieved and during which the empirical diversity and contradictions of everyday life disappear' (Ibid:258).

In what follows, I will show that Kachanaua is an expression of "unity", but not a mythical unity, nor one which overcomes empirical contradictions. On the contrary, it is the processes of everyday life that I see expressed in the form and sequence of the ritual. The Cashinahua concieve of themselves as interacting with real entities, in the form of spirits, on a daily basis and these spirits and relations with them are the concern, in large part, of the ritual. It is neither a mechanism for restoring order at a level defined as social by reference to a level defined as ideological, nor a temporary expression of an ideal social order with metaphorical allusions to other conceptual domains. There is no attack, in Kachanaua, upon what Rivière terms in the Trio case "the diversity and contradictions of everyday life". Although it is most certainly sometimes held in the wake of difficult periods in the life of a community, the sense of the proceedings themselves cannot be interpreted in this way. In what follows, I argue that such an interpretation would itself be "ideological", in the sense of false consciousness. The Cashinahua ritual is concerned instead with the reestablishment of the mundane, not its temporary interuption. 'Diversity and contradictions' are indeed an aspect of the day-to-day economic and social process.

From descriptions of the ritual before I ever saw it, I had gained the impression that it involved the arrival of people from another village, and for a long time I remained under the impression that the people of Fronteira would be the ones to enter the village as spirits. Many people in Fronteira, however, had never seen a Kachanaua and very few of them were invited to attend the one described above.

People told me, as I have said in the introduction to this chapter, that as well as increasing vegetables the purpose of the ritual is to liven things up, to play and have a good time, to put an end to a bad period in the life of the community. This explanation shows clearly that the Cashinahua themselves understand the effects of the event as strengthening village solidarity, replacing tension or strife with unity and, as such, as part of the process of social regeneration that I described above. This is undoubtedly a most important function of Kachanaua, in terms of conscious reasoning. Pancho made this explicit to me when he said that everyone was feeling sad and needed livening up.

Another closely related function of Kachanaua, which everyone also recognizes, is a religious one in the sense that the ritual is a means of reproducing the world through entering into contact with the outside in the form of the forest spirits. I argue below that these *yuxin* are wild plant spirits (as indicated by their appearance) and that through the naming songs they give asexual reproductive power to the domesticated plants of the garden on behalf of their human affines. Baptists like Pancho do not stress these aspects of their rituals, preferring to call them "games", brincadeira, just as the CIMI and CPI volunteers do, and comparing them with carnival. For others, such as the *chana xanen ibus*, the performative purpose of the rite is still very much alive. Even the sceptical people of Fronteira, who are inclined to be derogatory about the more traditional pastimes and way of life of the people of Recreio, recognize the value of their ability to enter into fruitful contact with the spirits.

Noone ever explained Kachanaua to me in terms of myth. I asked repeatedly what the *kacha* symbolized and what it was for, but without receiving any except the vaguest of answers. I found an answer after my return from the field, as I will describe below, by investigating myth. I was never able to ask any chantleader whether s/he agreed with this particular juxtaposition of myth and ritual, but nevertheless I feel justified in proceeding along these lines. This is mainly because Kachanaua is clearly a transformation of other Amazonian rituals of this kind, which are explicitly explained in terms of myth by the performers themselves. Steven Hugh-Jones' (1979) analysis of a Tukanoan Yurupari ritual complex shows how it can only be fully explained by reference to myth [21]. His informants, unlike mine, provided him with considerable exegesis. The silence of the Cashinahua in comparison to the Barasana can perhaps be explained by the different emphasis that each people places upon their ritual. The Barasana are concerned with detail, with naming each of the 'spirits' or mythical figures who come to their house. The Cashinahua are not concerned with detail any longer. Perhaps they were more so in the past (the two spirits who appeared in the Conta event are for example perhaps named mythic figures). The main group of 'spirits' are just referred to as generic *yuxin*. At a deeper level, it seems to me that Barasana and Cashinahua attitudes to 'inside and outside' are different and this has a bearing upon the way they conceptualize the relation of such ritual and therefore of the mythic world (the dream world) to social regeneration. This is why the Cashinahua do not worry much about the relation of myth itself to Kachanaua, whereas for the Barasana the relation between myth and ritual is the first thing to mention to a curious outsider. Nevertheless, there is a relation and the following interpretation should make this clear.

Kachanaua can be seen as the acting out of one particular mythic cycle, that of the original and subsequent creations of the world. The two most important myths of this cycle, in terms of the interpretation of this ritual, are given below. One concerns an original creation of humanity, the other is the story of the great flood and its recreation [22]. These myths chart the passage from a time when generalized sexuality with siblings was practised, to the present age, when people marry properly into another moiety and into a category including their cross-cousins.

> Real people were created in a hole in a tree (type unspecified). When the people came out, they lived together in one village and there were no restrictions on who had sex with whom. Brothers and sisters lived together in the same house and when a sister was old enough, her elder brother would marry her. The people increased and multiplied, generation after generation, becoming numerous and spreading out over the world.
>
> One night a pregnant woman called Ixma, hungry for meat, sent her husband, Yukan ("guava"), to the riverside to catch *tua* toads for her to eat. Yukan is also known as Binkun Chana, or Ni Naua Dua, ('Dua Forest Spirit'). He lit his straw and rubber torch and went down to the river, where he followed the calls of the Toad Spirit, who tricked him into visiting him in his underwater home. He disappeared from this world and went to live with the people of the River Spirit. His wife and her people were distraught and the next day went searching for him, calling and weeping bitterly as they went, as one does for a dead relative. Finally he replied, telling his wife he would visit her, but only if she prepared caissuma for all the people of the river.
>
> She did as he bade and the next day they came, a great stream of fish-people all painted with genipapo and decorated with macaw feathers in their nostrils. The Real People were terrified and ran away to hide in their houses and Yukan's wife, instead of offering caissuma to the guests, tricked her husband into entering her hammock, where she clung to him with all her might. The chief of the River People was furious because of the way they had been treated and calling to them, led them all back to the river. He said that since Yukan had only wanted to stay with his own people and did not miss or long for his river people friends, he was going to make them all come to him, to live in the spirit world, by summoning up a great flood. The waters destroyed the world. Yukan Dua Forest Spirit did not escape the grasp of his wife, but changed into a *pustu* fly, the kind that sucks blood.
>
> All the objects in the village of the Real People were transformed into fish. The Real People themslevs were also transformed into dolphins, large tortoises, big fish and all kinds of game animals.
>
> There was only one survivor of this great flood, an old woman called Nete [23]

The next story in the cycle is about the subsequent recreation of the world by Nete who, swept downriver on a huge tree, blinded by wasp stings, makes four children in a gourd, the ancestors of the present-day Cashinahua. Unlike the Real People before the flood, these people marry the correct category of person in the opposite moiety; in one version of the myth, the four children are called Dua, Inu, Banu and Inani [24]. Their mother, now called Netebuekun, or Blind Nete, takes them upriver and on the way teaches them the cultivated plants which are growing on the beaches. They arrive at a very steep slope and climb it for several days until they reach the top, where her brother Navapaketanvan ('Foreigner-*continuous*-big') is living. He tries to kill his sister, but his wife attempts to prevent him. In the end his sons-in-law, Netebuekun's sons, shoot him with a poisoned dart in his enormous testicles as he is working in the garden. He dies, but the creation continues and the children make gardens and build houses and people multiply [25].

These myths describe the creation of affinity after the destruction of the original world by the river spirits who had been rejected as affines. The River Spirit wanted a man called Dua Forest Spirit, or Yukan, as his affine, but was rejected by all Yukan's kin including his wife (Yukan's wife being Yukan's sister). The myths suggest that all affines, like all strangers, are dangerous; hence Navapaketanvan tried to kill his sister and had to be killed by his son-in-law (or son, Netebuekun's son-in-law in some versions). Nevertheless, the origin of the contemporary human world was in the relationship between this character and his sister Netebuekun, and after these adventures the correct form of affinity was discovered. The wrong affines, the river spirits (who are therefore linked to the Dua moiety - see below), live downriver and underwater; the right affines, Netebuekun's brother and children, live upriver and on top of a steep slope, a *mava* [26]. They are thereby linked to the Inu moiety and the Incas. Both Netebuekun and her brother die in the myth and these deaths signal the end of one age - that of mythic time - and the beginning of another - that of historic time. The children of these two 'Ancient Ones' (*xenipabu*) were proper humans and their marriages were the start of proper social organization. Nevertheless their origins as the children of a 'downriver woman' associated with Dua, and an 'upriver male foreigner' associated with Inu, are important.

The world before the flood was a world of pure "inside". Only close kin lived together and married together, and contact with the outside in the form of Toad Spirit ended in absolute disaster. When the pregnant woman was hungry for meat, her husband-brother's attempt to hunt was the cause of the downfall of the first Real People. These ancestors are called *Jidabi*, and are thought of as giants. Tastevin (1925) reports that the huge fossils along the Muru river were thought of by the Cashinahua of that time as the bones of the *Jidabi*. The story of their downfall, like all myths, is taken to be literally true.

The two myths taken together are moral tales and show the fate of those who have not acquired cultural knowledge. From what we know about Cashinahua mores, it is possible to see that the ignorant behaviour of the Jirabi ancestors caused their own destruction. Only when Netebuekun's children began to interact properly, knowledgeably, was it possible for creation to resume, this time successfully, since their descendants are still alive today. If we compare the myth to the ritual, these points become clearer.

The ritual does not exactly replicate the myth; on the contrary, the participants omit the errors that the Jirabi ancestors made and show how they are possessors of knowledge which their forebears, to their detriment, never had. Nevertheless this is knowledge that must forever be acquired, as we have seen in preceding chapters. Thus there is always a sense of danger, an emphasis on the potential ill-effects of forgetting the proper ways of living. The ritual can be seen as a demonstration of the fully aware state of the people of the village, of their power.

In the following subsection, I compare myth and ritual analytically, showing also how the process of creation of the world in myth and in ritual is analogous to that of procreation, the formation of foetus and baby [27].

World Creation in Myth, Community Creation in Ritual

In the myth, the ignorant ancestors were first created in a hollow tree trunk, *ji xankin* [28]. This term for hollow is also the term used in everyday parlance for womb, and there seems to be little doubt that the *kacha*, with its hollowed out centre, stands both for wombs in general and the mythic tree-trunk in particular. We thus can see that the placing of the *kacha*, which was taken from the forest, in the centre of the village, beside the house of the chief, makes an analogy with the centre of the village and the starting point of human time, deep in the heart of the forest. It is also like the beginning of a single human life in its mother's womb.

The first event in the ritual involves the sexual taunting and the fire game, when men and women chase each other with burning bundles of straw. This takes place in the dark and is undifferentiated; men chase all or any women, and vice versa. If someone is accidently burned, s/he is thereby protected from snakebite. This part of the ritual cycle corresponds with the period in the myth when people married their siblings, when sex was undifferentiated. The sex was productive, because many children were born; but ultimately it proved destructive. The end was brought about through the desire of a pregnant woman for meat; she sent out her husband to hunt for her and his subsequent adventures led to the great flood [29].

The same sequence is again observed in Kachanaua. After the fire game, and the sexual taunting, which can be taken as metaphorical sex, the men go out hunting. This part of the ritual cycle could also be described as hunting magic, since the men who take part are said to be guaranteed success in the hunt as a result. Yet whilst the unfortunate Yukan is unlucky, tricked by the river spirit Toad and trapped in his underwater home, the young hunters of the present human world are successful and with the help of the spirits make real kills [30]. The difference is that Yukan was ignorant and contemporary people are not.

If we return again to the comparison with sexual reproduction, the women of a village performing Kachanaua and pregnant women observing dietary restrictions remain hungry for meat at this stage, like Ixma, Yukan's wife.

Yukan is finally rescued by his people and brought back to the village, empty-handed. However the hunters engaged in Kachanaua return loaded down with smoked meat and fish. They prepare for the arrival of the visitors and the women spend considerable time making the food and drink they will need to offer them. Ixma, Yukan's wife, does not. On the dawn of the day that the visitors will come, the men of Dua go downriver to become the spirits, dressing in the ornaments of palm-leaves and feather-headresses that will transform them. The Duabakebu come in with the rising sun, and are greeted as affines, as "brother-in-law". In the late afternoon, the reverse takes place; the Inubakebu come in from upriver dressed as spirits and are also greeted as affines.

Both moieties are greeted by the opposite moiety and by their own moiety; that is, the affines receive them first and through the help of the women, who are kin to the visitors, they feed them and thus make them kin. As I have argued above, such food prestations are conceived of as turning potentially hostile affines into affinal kin. When the men feed their affines, with their wives' and mothers' help, they are saying that they are bonded together like close kin. Just as in day-to-day transactions, men are able to feed each other only with the help and consent of their wives.

When the affines come in in the guise of spirits they are reenacting an event which took place in ancestral time, the first foreigner's visit. In contrast to the mythic encounter with fish people spirits, when Real People succumbed to fear and remained hostile, these Kachanaua forest plant spirits are successfully incorporated into the social world of humans and transformed from enemies to kin via affinity. The result of this transformation is the creation of the possible conditions for the reproduction of the world.

The ambush expresses forcefully the fear of the other, underlines the foreign nature of the guests; but immediately afterwards the hosts affirm the humanity of those they have ambushed. They offer the greeting which gives them the status of *chai* and join them as they rush into the very centre of the village beside the house of the chief leader.

When the forest plant spirits throw off their palm-leaf disguises, they reveal their own affinal humanity, offering it so to speak for appropriation and transformation into consubstantial humanity [31]. The revealed affines are the raw material of kin. Via the present of food, the strangers are transformed, created kin. The feeding of one's affines during Kachanaua, as well as emphasizing their distinctness, symbolizes their integration into "our kin" *nukun nabu*, and the stripping away of their alien and potentially hostile nature. It is through the consumption of a proper meal, itself a combination of complementary opposites representing male and female, that the kin relationship is ratified.

In the myth, the River Spirit People come in dressed and decorated, just as happens in Kachanaua. They come in from downriver, or underwater, like the Duabakebu and when they arrive they are greeted with consternation and fear. Although the moment in Kachanaua when the visitors are ambushed represents this hostility, it passes quickly and taking heart, the people of the village rush up to the visitors and greet them by a kin term. Not so in the myth; the people run away and hide in their houses. Ixma has not cooked for her brother-husband's friends, or prepared caissuma as he had bidden. Instead, she catches hold of him in his hammock and will not let him go. It is a woman, for the Cashinahua, who first refused proper affinity by refusing to part with her brother. She would not give him up, although he had already formed close attachments with the River Spirit People, who had come to visit out of a longing for him. He was already like kin, because he had already lived with them. She and her kin condemned themselves to death, because this longing was too powerful and the leader of the river spirits decided to make them all kin by drowning them, drawing them all into his underwater world.

This destruction took place after the refusal to feed and make outsiders kin, or insiders. In Kachanaua, the opposite takes place and after the feeding, the work of creation begins in the form of Ho Ho singing and dancing. In the songs the dancers name the plants, thus calling them, as they say. Interspersed with the stately Ho Ho chants are the wilder bouts of sexual taunting and again, if we think of this as metaphorical sex, it appears that the dancers are emphasizing the role of sex in the process of production. In contrast to the start of the ritual cycle, there is no fire game on the final night, no wild running and chasing through the dark village. The sexual element is instead more controlled, cooler.

From the flotsam and jetsam of the first world, which had been destroyed in the flood, came the seeds of regeneration. People were once again created in a hollow, though this time in a gourd. Whereas the first people were created in a forest hollow in a wild tree, the recreated people were made in a hollow found floating on the river, inside the fruit of a cultivated tree [32]. Thus as well as being a 'world of pure inside', the world of the first people was also 'of the outside' in that they sprang directly from a wild plant body; and the recreated people were more properly of the 'inside', since they sprang directly from a cultivated plant body. The first people are 'of the outside' because they belong entirely to the mythic age. The recreated people are 'of the inside' because they belong to historic time and are clearly differentiated from the mythic ancestors by not being the offspring of Netebuekun's body. Unlike the first ancestors Netbuekun's children, by visiting their *kuka*, Netebuekun's brother, stumbled into correct affinity. On their journey back upriver, their mother taught them about the plants and vegetables of the garden, which she named as they passed by the beaches where they were sprouting. This episode in the myth is analogous to the Ho Ho dancing and singing [33].

However, it is not until Netebuekun and her brother Navapaketanvan have died that the Real People, this time marrying their cross-cousins as they ought, really multiply and the last mythic creation can begin. The death of these two ancestors, who are associated with the original birth in the hollow of a tree trunk, finds its parallel in the ritual when the *kacha* is finally destroyed and thrown out of the village. The *kacha* is a symbol of non-affinal creativity and for this reason is broken up and thrown away, returned to the forest. The people who perform this act are the young men who are as yet not fully adult, either unmarried or just married - like the spirit-visitors not fully affines, because they have not created children, their parents-in-law's grandchildren. When the young men perform a parody of the entrance of the spirits and the initial Ho Ho dancing in the middle of the proper dancing, they seem to be emphasizing their own nature as semi-affines, as potential rather than actual producers of kin. They are the raw material of producing affinal kin, the outsiders who will make people's daughters able to produce offspring. By destroying the *kacha*, they affirm their own morally praisworthy desire to be good affines, good brothers-in-law and sons-in-law. By taking pieces of the *kacha* and attempting to seduce young women they appear to be distributing sexuality and fertility throughout the village [34]. The remnants of the *kacha* are symbols, it seems, of the beginning of properly controlled sexuality and creativity at the beginning of historoc time, when Netebuekun's and Navapaketanvan's children began to marry after their parents deaths.

Finally, returning to the comparison with the process of sexual reproduction, the destruction of the *kacha*, which takes place close to dawn, is also analogous to the moment of birth, after the months of gestation and sex, and the work of procreation [35].

Kachanaua and Dual Organization

Kachanaua can be seen as a statement by the Cashinahua of their processual theory of creativity. Theirs is a dialectical vision of the world, where life comes from death, kinship from affinity and the inside is the outside incorporated. Reproduction is only possible when the outside is brought in to the inside and the two are properly combined. This principle is common throughout Lowland American societies, as Overing has pointed out [36]. Human life is based upon the transformation of the outside and its products and beings into the inside. Thus the social process depends on moiety exogamy and naming (chapter 2); the economic cycle turns upon the relation between male and female agency in relation to production (chapter 3); and the political process involves the male acquisition of external knowledge (chapter 4). In Kachanaua we can see another dimension of this principle, this time in relation to the normally invisible 'dream world' of forest spirits. As in all spheres, the idea of moiety, of 'dual organization' is employed in the expression of this dialectical principle. In this subsection I explore the import of 'moiety' for the Cashinahua and compare my approach to that of Deshayes and Keifenheim.

Plants and beings of the forest have their spirit side, as humans do. They appear to dreaming or intoxicated humans as themselves human in form (gente - see chapter 3, section 1), but persons in a normal waking state see them as living animals and plants. The separation between these dream and waking manifestations was effected in mythical times and, as I have argued, must be maintained in order for living people to prosper. People need the bodies of plants and animals in order to reproduce themselves. They help the garden plants to reproduce by their physical efforts, but they need the help of the spirits of wild forest plants for the bodies of garden plants to flourish. I argue below that this help is achieved in Kachanaua. The spirits lend asexual fertility to the plants whose production partially defines the inside. They do this by acting in the capacity of grandparents who name their grandchildren (see *nixpo pima* in chapter 2). Their naming 'fixes' and immortalizes the reproductive capacity of plants through a seasonal cycle which ends at this time of year in the green corn harvest, and began with the planting of hard seeds or sections of stems cut from old plants. In return, the humans behave towards the spirits in human form as parents - as close kin - by feeding them. In particular, as I argue below, they feed them animals' heads which are a symbol of immortal sexual regeneration. As parents create corporeal strength and vitality in their children, so the humans give vital corporeal powers to the human plant spirits. The trees and plants of the forest will flourish and fruit as a result and the game animals and fish, which human men will kill, eat of the fallen fruits and nuts. Kachanaua works, then, to produce both domesticated vegetable abundance and wild game and fish abundance, so that human social regeneration continues to dispose of vital resources.

Before I move on to substantiate this analysis, I discuss a structuralist account of Kachanaua by the anthropologists Patrick Deshayes and Barbara Keifenheim (1982). For the sake of brevity I sometimes refer to them as 'D & K'. Many of their points have resonances with my own. However, I suggest that the language they use obscures the processual nature of the processes to which Kachanaua alludes. They say that the men who go into the forest "learn" fertility from the spirits and bring it back into the village, where it is transferred into social fertility, a reaffirmation of safe alliance. They argue that Kachanaua should be interpreted on three levels, one of exchange between allies, one of gift from chief to group and one of sharing between kin. Men take care of social reproduction through their relations with spirits and women of human reproduction through their relation with men.

They say that the entrance to the village by the "Hommes-plantes" is an enactment of the idea that 'Others from the outside' are dangerous enemies. The mock attack expresses this idea for D & K. In reality, they suggest, they are not 'Others from the outside' but rather safe 'Others from the inside', a quite different kind of being. Thus they say "L'Autre du dedans, c'est justement pas l'Autre du dehors. Avec l'Autre du dedans, c'est l'alliance; avec l'Autre du dehors, c'est la guerre" (Ibid:252). For D & K, then, the mock attack is a means of emphasising of absolute separations between outsiders and insiders, whereas I have argued that it signals a moment of the process before the outsiders are welcomed as potential affines.

I go on to argue that they are then transformed into safe affines. By contrast, D & K say that the food prestation (which they term "l'échange de viande generalisé"(Ibid:251) is a political act of alliance, which gains its meaning and its dynamism from the episode of rejection of war. Thus for D & K the prestations are an expression of the daily reaffirmation of alliance with the opposite moiety by which the Cashinahua community continues as a social whole, a *mae kuin*. The alliance relation, they say, is a relation between 'the Self and the Other of the inside'. This is 'exchange' ('l'échange'), a characteristic of 'behaviour of the inside' (les comportements du dedans). The other forms of behaviour which characterize the inside are sharing ('partage') and the gift ('le don'). Both of these are also articulated with the 'exchange between allies'. Sharing comes about after the men pass the food behind their backs to their wives, who then pass it on to their own relatives. D & K say "Par là, s'exprime le mode de vie qui caractérise le plus petit Soi collectif. Ce sont les liens de nabu (ie 'kin') qui s'affirment à ce niveau." (Ibid:258). 'The gift' expresses the non-reciprocal 'group/chief' relation. However, the tripartite nature of the 'behaviour of the inside' hinges as far as D & K are concerned upon the alliance relation between the two moieties conceived as 'Selves' and 'Others' of the inside. They say that alliance is at once the founder and the regulator of society: "l'alliance n'est ni le produit d'une structure, ni un état évident, mas de l'ordre du contrat et donc issue d'une volonté politique et maintenue par elle.... Le rituel rejoue symboliquement la fondation de la société comme totalité une." (Ibid:259)

Although Deshayes and Keifenheim are concerned to show that Cashinahua social organization is not a thing but rather something which must constantly be made (through a political will to sustain a contract), I would say that their choice of language to describe this process subverts their intentions. The highly structuralist notion that 'society is constructed as a totality' by 'alliance' does not allow one to understand the process nor see the relationship between the spheres of 'sharing' (kinship) and 'the gift' (hierarchical political relations) that they set up. What is more, the privileging of the male food prestation defined as meat exchange between allies in regard to female participation defined as sharing amongst kin obscures the central importance of male-female relations in both the ritual and in Cashinahua life in general, which I am at pains to interpret here.

To place emphasis upon 'alliance' above all misses the male-female dynamics behind the prestations. The food can only be produced and given properly if men and women work together in anticipation of the event. At the moment of giving, women participate fully by serving the food onto the plates which their husbands or sons will hand over to the other male moiety and via them to their own female moiety. The prestation consists of both male and female food and not just meat. This is important. Immediately after receiving the presents, the recipients sit down to a feast, men and boys of one moiety in one group, women of the other moiety and their children in another.

There is a second serious problem with using the idea of exchange as a means of making political alliance between men in an egalitarian relationship. This stems from the conceptualization of prestation which the term 'exchange' in this usage implies. The receivers may not keep the food to give back in the afternoon. In other words it is given expressly in order to be consumed. In the afternoon there is a reciprocal prestation. Those who have nothing to give do not participate in the giving or receiving. Those who have given expect to be fed in return. This reciprocity of caring underlines the egalitarian nature of the *chai* relationship, to which D & K allude. But this relationship must be clearly distinguished from other brother-in-law relationships where prestations are conceptualized according to a different cultural logic. Unlike moka, Kachanaua food giving does not involve a competitive egalitarianism, and the volume and quality of the gifts are only minor issues [37]. More importantly, moka-type prestations suggest and create enduring debts between people outside the context of the transaction itself, whereas this prestation has as its primary social function an expression of caring through the actual creation of corporeal strength in the recipient. This caring makes the receiver like the giver, not different from him or her. It is inappropriate, then, to label this prestation 'exchange'. Whereas D & K emphasize the male/male 'alliance' relation, I would place stress upon its articulation with the inside as constituted by male/female relations and the female distribution of food ('sharing').

Kachanaua does not portray an ideal society, a social organization composed of two opposed groups of kin engaged in exchange (of women, words and things) in order to forge a politically concieved alliance, a social whole. Such an approach reifies social organization into a structure, no matter how much its proponents claim to be demonstrating a dynamic. Cashinahua social organization is never statically concieved of in this way. I would argue that in order to understand Cashinahua social organization we must avoid the kind of structuralist language used by Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982) in their analysis of Kachanaua.

When Kensinger argued that the ideal village is composed of two focal males and their kin who exchange sisters in marriage and belong to opposite moieties, he confused the moiety principle with social structure. Dual organization for the Cashinahua is not, even ideally, a whole composed of two mechanically interacting. The dual nature of the world is integral to every living and dead thing in it and provides the energy for creation. It is combination, not alliance, that preoccupiesthe Cashinahua. For this reason, Kensinger's ideal *mae* would make little sense if by chance it were to be realized at some moment of a community's life; it would be a passing moment, not regretted when it was gone, because it never was an ideal to be striven towards. The Cashinahua do not strive towards ideal structure in the human world in their daily efforts to produce life and kin and community. When they posit differences between themslves and others they do so in a very specific way and within the framework of a conceptualization of process, one that has a beginning and an end. Moiety is used in myth and ritual to capture moments of this process and referents in space and time. I now return to this subject.

Moiety as a principle of social process and production is undoubtedly a complex concept. The Cashinahua are concerned with eternal form and immortality and its relation to the mortal fate of living things; they represent this in the concepts Dua and Inu. It is not accidental that in Kachanaua the Duabakebu enter the village from downriver where the sun rises and the Inubakebu come in from upriver as it sets, for Dua is associated with the sun and the day and Inu with darkness and night. Daytime and heat are associated with life and vital force, nightime and cold with death and immortality. Thus each entrance is performed in a different fashion. The Inu take more care over their decorations and dance longer, singing Ho Ho still dressed in their palm leaf guise as spirits, and it is they who lead the way into the all-night singing and dancing. To conclude this subsection, I turn to another way in which the moiety opposition expresses the relation between life and death.

When men give their brothers-in-law heads, *buxka*, of game animals, they make a present of the best part of the animal. This aspect of Kachanaua is clearly important to everybody, since a common term for the whole ritual cycle is *buxka vai*, making heads. The importance of the heads of game animals can best be understood through the myth of *Yube*, the man who became the moon (M1). Yube is portrayed as a Dua. This association is clear, as all the characteristics of Dua - the snake that sloughs off its skin, the generator of menstruation and cyclicity in women, fertile growth and rotting death, and so on - are attached to both Moon and the character of Yube in myth and in hunting magic [38]. Also, interestingly enough, the two Cashinahua I met whose true names were Yube were both Duabakebu.

When Yube is killed in the myth, his body (*yuda*) is buried in the ground and rots, but his head (*buxka*) does not die. Instead, it bounds after its male kin (brother or brother-in-law) demanding drink, insisting that it be taken back home. But it cannot stay with its kin, because really it is dead, it is not a real person, unable to produce or to consume; the drink which its terrified male kin pour into its mouth merely passes through, without being absorbed. So the dilemma of the head, which longs for its kin but cannot be one of them or with them, is resolved by sending it up into the sky, the place of the dead, where it fulfills vitally important roles so that real people may live and produce. Moon lights the night, and causes women to menstruate. Thus Yube is directly responsible for human fertility, because he causes women to produce a vital substance out of which babies are made.

Light and blood are associated with Dua, but Yube's head is also Inu, because it is immortal and does not rot like his body in the ground. For this reason, I think that heads are symbolically the Inu aspect of a person's body and the rest is the Dua aspect. When people give their kin animal heads to eat, they are feeding their temporal bodies with a "symbol of immortality". Since the heads are also detached from mortal bodies, it would be fair to say that the heads symbolize a principle of immortal regeneration. Yube's head (*Yube-nava-buxka* or 'Yube-foreigner-head' as Moon is now called) is also detached from his rotted body in a spatial and temporal sense. It is because of this detachment that Yube can continue eternally to give the power of corporeal productivity of mortal bodies to women. His death on this level of the cosmos signalled the start of eternal process of human living and dying.

Heads symbolize the relationship between life and death. When they are given to the forest spirits they both 'make body' and thus express kinship, and suggest a gift of a principle of regeneration to the 'spirits'. The forest spirits, acting like grandparent chantleaders in a child's initiation ceremony, have named the garden plants on behalf of the humans; they have ensured the asexual reproductive capacity of the garden produce. In return, the Cashinahua present the forest plant spirits with a symbol of a principle of immortal regeneration of life that is derived from a dead human body, and an immortal human spirit. The spirit gives the power of sexual reproduction to humans. The gift of an animal head to the plant forest spirits thus suggests a gift of immortal sexual creativity to the wild trees and plants. This results in the flowering and later fruiting which follows the Kachanaua festival. People, animals and fish will consume the fruit and nuts, thus creating strength and health in their bodies. but the real food of humans is not wild forest fruit but rather garden produce mixed with the bodies of forest animals and river fish. It is precisely these things that men and women must harvest and kill in order to maintain and create their social life.

The set of relations into which men must enter with spirits or foreigners is one that I have characterized above as "exchange". It represents only part of the process of creating social life, and is complete when complemented with the set of relations which women must enter into with the product of exchange. The complementarity of both forms of production is summed up in the idea of the married couple. The Cashinahua say that moiety affiliation tells them who their children ought to marry, (not the same as saying whom one child can be exchanged for, or what alliance can be formed). Marriage is above all concerned with production, whether of things or of people. The concept of gender plays an important part in the process and in the next subsection I analyse its place in Cashinahua thinking on these subjects, in the light of the discussion of Kachanaua.

Kachanaua and Gender

Children grow up and become men and women, proper persons who produce as well as consume. Men and women work together in order to raise children. Production, circulation and consumption operate cyclically in the creative process. Male-female production is also extended to the making of the community, the *mae*, both through the idea that male and female leaders are the parents of the villagers and through the idea that male and female collectivities cooperate in community production, as man and wife do. This latter idea is also expressed by the Cashinahua in Kachanaua, as I show here. I suggested above that the fire game and sexual taunting be seen as metaphorical sex and that the period between the initiation and the finale of the ritual cycle of Kachanaua be seen as analagous to pregnancy. I defend this claim further here. I also suggest that Ho Ho represents the cool side of male-female cooperation in the creative process. Sex, I argue, is conceived of as both reciprocal

- a game of give and take, of feeding on and of being fed - and as complementary, such that male and female forms of production are different but mutually necessary, within the same overall production process.

Male-Female Reciprocity: the Give and Take of Sex

Male-female reciprocity is competitive, in the sense that sex is competitive; as I said in Chapter 2, the Cashinahua say that first one person, then her or his partner, grow strong or weak from having sex. Neither sex *per se* benefits to the other's detriment; the weakness or strength that might result affects each in turn. The result of sex is always the same - the making of children, the formation of a foetus. In this subsection I will show how sexual taunting is analogous to the work of sex, the making of kin, using further evidence from historical accounts of the Kachanaua to show how this is so.

I also show that male-female reciprocity is distinct from (male) relations of exchange with the outside, which is based upon coercion and potential or actual violence. The former relationship should be undertood as taking place within kinship , whereas the latter takes place outside of it so that the product of such transactions may be brought back and appropriated into the creative process.

The men and women engaged in the taunting and the fire game are giving full expression to the sexual aspect of male-female relations. They are not, it should be stressed, engaged in an expression of male-female antagonism. The taunting and the game are joyful expressions of sexuality and the sexually explicit sense of humour characteristic of the Cashinahua, not of hostility between men and women. During this episode of the rite sexuality takes over and respectful restraint between brothers and sisters or mothers and sons, and so on, is abandoned. Like sex itself, the mood is one of excitement and wildness, of creative abandon, as the participants invent new and more poignant or abrasive comparisons for their companions' sexual organs, and suggest more and more extraordinary or ridiculous sexual feats. Even so, the taunting takes place within the confines of a traditional format and it would be wrong to think of it as anything like an orgy. There is no place for real sex in the ritual [39]. However, just as in real sex, this metaphorical sex in concerned with creation, transformation, and reproduction.

The *kacha* is a symbol of a womb. In many of the Kachanaua rituals that I saw, several manioc tubers or bananas were hung on a string above the hollowed out interior of the *kacha*, and this seems to suggest male sexual organs. When the women taunt the men by calling their testicles knobbly sweet potatoes, or plantains, this interpretation seems even more reasonable. The kacha and its string of tubers and bananas are a symbol for the sexual process [40].

People told me that in the past women used to make extraordinary amounts of caissuma for the festival. This would be consumed during the final night and vomited into the kacha, before it was broken up and thrown away. The growth of a foetus is believed, as I have shown, to be dependent on the absorption of certain safe foods, among which caissuma is the most important [41]. This vomited caissuma seems to be a metaphor for the creation of body through the consumption and transformation of food [42].

In Capistrano de Abreu, we find a description of Kachanaua as performed by the people of the Iboiçu. His informants described it as the "Dance of the Pot-bellied Paxiuba" and gave a separate account of *buxka vai*, head-hunting [43]. The ritual involving *a kacha*, makes no mention of hunting, whilst the head-hunting ritual makes no mention of a *kacha*. This is what one of his two informants has to say about the "Dance of the Pot-bellied Paxiuba":

> One man, the *kacha ibu*, cuts down the pot-bellied paxiuba, and others help him excavate the middle and carry it back to the maloca where it is deposited. Meanwhile the women have made a huge amount of caissuma, which they pour into the kacha (now lined with banana leaves). It is covered over and left. Men and women together dance Ho Ho all night around the filled up *kacha*.

> After five days and nights, visitors are summoned, and together everyone dances around the kacha till dawn, when it is finally uncovered and drunk dry. Then they vomit, and take tobacco snuff, and the visitors go home. The kacha is thrown away [44].

Capistrano de Abreu's second informant gave a slightly different description of the proceedings. He insists that the festival is held upon the *xanen ibu*'s orders, when the corn is beginning to ripen and everyone wants to drink caissuma. For the five days and nights that it is fermenting in the paxiuba log, they dance at night and sleep when the sun is high. On the morning of the final day other houses are invited; they enter the house shouting, all dressed up and are sat down on stools and given food "that they may eat"(p.98:915). After they have eaten, they dance till dawn, drink the caissuma, vomit, snort tobacco snuff and go home.

From these descriptions we can see that the association of caissuma and the *kacha* is very strong; it seems fair to take this ritual caissuma as analogous to transformed *jimi*, blood, that is both semen and menstrual blood, which repeated sex shapes in the womb to form a child. It is tempting to suggest that the yellow corn stands for semen, and the red or purple-skinned peanuts for menstrual blood. The one is associated with high ground gardens, the other with riverbanks and beaches [45]. Corn is in this context a male plant and peanut a female plant. This also makes sense if one considers that it is men who supposedly plant corn, whereas it is women who insert the sprouted peanut seeds into the earth. Thus the ritual caissuma in its trough is like male and female blood in a womb. The sexual taunting, which involves men and women competing in verbal exchanges, is like sex in that it is reciprocal; one gives, the other takes and vice versa. In the same way the fire game involves first one sex chasing the other and then vice versa. So it stands for the 'work' of sex, for the idea that repeated intercourse creates the body of the child. Vomiting caissuma into the trough could therefore stand for procreation.

The episodes of sexual taunting not only initiate the Kachanaua, they are also interspersed with Ho Ho dancing and singing throughout. It seems that the creative process requires a double impetus, one from hot sexual activity and male-female competition, one from cold male-female cooperation and cooperation between affines defined as chais. In Ho Ho, the singers are naming the plants, in the context of describing the world both as it was being created and as it is. They are naming the living things out of which human life is created, which are the basis of kinship itself. In a sense Ho Ho in Kachanaua is an initiation ritual for plants, a vegetable baptism, akin to *nixpo pima* for humans. The humans are the parents and the forest spirits the grandparents of the plants, fostering the birth and growth of their bodies and stimulating the attachment of their souls, so that human kinship itself and the community of coresident kin may continue to be and to grow. The association is very clear: babies are made from transformed plant bodies. By propagating plant bodies, people are indirectly propagating children.

In the myth it is Netebuekun who names the plants as they are found growing on the riverbanks as she and her children journey upriver. Netebuekun is associated with forest spirits because she survived the flood through climbing onto the trunk of a huge tree which, as some versions of the myth recount, had been felled to make a garden. Such trees are said to be spirits, or the homes of spirits and are also said to form connections with the next layer of the cosmos, like the river itself. Thus the garden plants are named in myth by a figure who is not only an 'outsider' because she belongs to another age, but also because she is associated with the forest and the river. The plants are named in ritual by outsiders who stand in an affinal relationship to the 'parents' of the garden plants, the humans. This is an inversion of the situation in the naming of human children, who receive their name from persons of their own moiety and in a relation of kinship.

Why do the Ho Ho songs avoid the mention of game animals, when the giving of heads and meat is so important in contemporary Kachanaua? The answeris implicit in the above analysis. If the plant spirits give asexual reproductive capacity to the humans' garden plants, the humans give immortal sexual powers back to the spirits. Plants and trees take care of animal and fish propagation on behalf of the humans. The animals and fish that eat wild forest produce are like the children of the plants in this perspective. Hence perhaps the *yuxibu* demons of lakes and huge trees are said to 'own' a range of land and water animals as their pets. On the whole these animals are not good game - they are too fierce. White-lipped peccaries - considered the best game - are themselves transformed ancestral humans; their transformation was sparked by a human expedition to the forest to eat the fruits of a particular tree (See M12). The only human who refused to go - a girl - was the only one who was saved. She became yet another primordial ancestress of the Cashinahua.

In Kachanaua dangerous foreigners - the forest spirits - are for the benefit of the continued growth of humanity made to become human; after they throw off their spirit clothes, they eat human food and reveal themselves as true affinal kin. There is no danger of mutual extermination with these plant spirits, as there would be with fierce animals such as jaguar, or with foreign humans. Plant spirits are the affinal kin of humans and therefore help them in the process of social regeneration. Linked together physically, arms over shoulders, hands clasped, visitors and hosts dance together and unite their voices in singing their relationship. They dance to the gentle steady sway of Ho Ho, around a symbol of a womb and a penis, of the conjunction of men and women in the creative process, of the reciprocity of sex.

It is at this moment of the rite that the focus shifts from reciprocity to complementarity and the symbolism of the *kacha* shifts as well. It can now be taken to stand for complementarity in the economic cycle of the production, circulation and consumption of vegetable foods. At this moment men and women no longer shout out jokes referring to game animals and steeped in the indigenous imagery of sex; instead they join together, singing the same words, albeit in different gender-defined styles.

In the alternation between Ho Ho and sexual taunting, which continues from dusk till dawn, the singers delineate the dual nature of sexuality, or of reproduction, the process of combination of male and female vital essences and of Dua and Inu names, in the creation of life. In their dance they also express the cooperation between the forces of life and death, of mortal and immortal spirits, that underlies this process.

We have already seen from the analysis of myth that Kachanaua implies a contrast with the fate of the Jirabi ancestors, who earned their own total obliteration by not knowing that sexuality ought to be confined to certain categories of kin and that incestuous sex is wrong. In Kachanaua there is a celebration of this knowledge; men and women know as they dance and sing that those whom they address as their sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law are not at the same time their sisters and brothers. This is the crucial difference. The existence of affinal kinship is only possible through the recognition of the opposition between marriageable and unmarriageable men and women and the nature of correct sexuality.

True cross-cousins can only be known through one's own opposite sex siblings' relationship with them. This is why brothers-in-law and to a lesser extent sisters-in-law spend so much time joking about sex. Sex is one of the most important things that men and women do together, because it is the means of making people. A man needs kin for his own children to marry. He may not make love to his sister, but he can talk to his brother-in-law about the latter's love-making to his sister, just as she can talk to his wife. Relations between chais (brothers-in-law) and between tsabes (sisters-in-law) are sexual ones via each person's relationship with her or his *pui*, opposite sex sibling. Men urge their chais to make love with their sisters and women their tsabes to make love with their brothers.

In Kachanaua, the sexual aspect of the chai relationship is transformed into a relationship between spirits and humans. The moiety of men representing the spirits is male by its origin in the outside, whilst the moiety of men who are the humans is female by its origin in the inside beside the *xanen ibu*'s house at the centre of the village. The Duabakebu are outsiders in the morning and insiders in the afternoon. The idea of reversal as well as reciprocity is again suggested. Yet despite this gender association, the entire discourse of Kachanaua is male-oriented and even in the women's Kachanaua the tsabe's address each other as men. I suggest in the next subsection that in order to explain this fact (which many would take as evidence that Cashinahua "society" is made by men engaged in relations of exchange), we must look at male-female relations as complementary as well as reciprocal.

Male-Female Complementarity

I have argued that relations between men and women are reciprocal in terms of sexual reproduction and that this is analogous in ritual to sexual taunting and the fire game. I also suggested that HoHo dancing and chanting is analogous to naming in the production of a person. I suggested that male and female humans act as parents to their plants caring for them physically and that the forest spirits are like grandparents who in this case give asexual reproductive power to the plants. In this subsection Here I further discuss the sexual analogy, in relation this time to Ho Ho. I argue that the incoming 'male' moiety of plant-men in conjunction with the resident 'female' moiety of humans act to produce the bodies of the garden vegetables, which are conceived of as the 'children' of this sexually defined union. Thus the 'fathers' of the domesticated garden plants are portrayed as wild plant spirits and the 'mothers' as humans. The forest fathers pass on their asexual reproductive powers to the plants (plant fertility), enabling humans to reproduce themselves using sexual reproductive powers created by the human ability to transform the bodies of plants and animals into new human bodies. In Ho Ho the bodies of plants are 'named' by men and women singing under the guidance of male and female chantleaders, who are analogous in this role to (female) human namesake grandparents; this explains the apparent 'inversion' noted above, where human children are named by people in a relation of kinship and garden plants are named by spirits in a relation of affinity. The distinction between elderly chantleaders and sexually active adults is also a theme in the ritual.

Male labour complements female economic production (see chapter 3). Men and women perform different tasks, but require each other's help in order to be able to do so. Within this complementary division of labour, women are conceived of as mediators of male products brought in from the outside, transforming them into food that can be safely consumed by the people of the inside, so that they may reproduce themselves. Women cook raw meat and fish (*bava* to make created/cooked) and this activity is analogous to their role as gestators of children, (*bama*, to cause to be created). There is a strong association between pots and wombs and the process which takes place within each of them.

Men are the intermediaries with the outside. They are the ones who engage in dangerous and coercive relations with the outside which both serve to mark the boundary between human and foreigner, or human and animal and allow the bringing back of food and things to the inside. These relations are necessary for the reproduction of life among true humans. The dynamic relation betwen male and female production has as its objective, the making of kin and each forms a crucial and interdependent part of the process. In Kachanaua both the spirits and their hosts are represented as male because male and female production is concieved of as distinct in this way. The spirits are outsiders and male agency is required to deal with outsiders.

Strong young men, the hunters and workers in the gardens and settlement, are constantly engaged in active exchanges with the outside. They bring back game, trees, forest fruits, money, trade goods and so on. These objects and raw foods are transformed by strong and productive young women into cooked food, clothes and so on which can then be circulated and consumed. These young productive people are at the centre of the community. Their cooperation in the productive process is summed up in the image of male-female relations as primarily a partnership of husband and wife. The purpose of such a union is explicitly the production of children, as I have often repeated. At the same time the process requires the intervention of a second set of figures, those of maternal and namesake grandparents. In Kachanaua, the chantleaders, male and female, are analogous to these figures.

Old people are especially suited to dealing with the spirits because they are the persons who have acquired most knowledge through their lives. At the same time they are not as productive as their adult children. Their production is of a different order, as 'mediators' training the young to produce well and safely. In Kachanaua the role of mediator falls especially to the chantleaders or *chana xanen ibu*. These old people mediate between two forms of relationship in Kachanaua, that of "exchange" carried out by men in relation to the outside and that of feeding, carried out by women in relation to the inside. I discussed these different forms of relationship in the last chapter, showing how it is mistaken to construct an absolute opposition between them. Exchange as a coercive form of interaction is at once wrong and possible between kin and feeding or giving as a non-authoritarian form of interaction is at once correct and not always possible between kin. It is also mistaken to see men as coercive in opposition to women as caring, an idea that the Cashinahua would find laughable. Male and female gender are "of the inside" and both men and women have relations with the outside. Nevertheless, within the creative process exchange is seen as male and incorporation and circulation as female. The inside itself is never characterized as in essence female; at the very heart of the inside is the concept of kinship, which is composed of both male and female gender and of people who both will be and have been productive men and women, that is, the children and the elderly.

Old people are ideally placed as mediators; their knowledge allows them to have safer and easier access to the spirits and, more than this, it makes them like spirits. Thus, the elderly are often referred to as *xenipabu*, ancestors, like the characters in the myths. As their bodies grow weak and their ability to produce diminishes, so their capacity to aid the younger generation to produce increases. They are an essential part of the process of creation, playing a role analogous to that of namesake grandparents in the "making grow" of children. They are like shamans, in that they are mediators with the spirits; for this reason, old people and especially the most knowledgeable are more frequently subject to accusations of sorcery than the young [46].

Once the relations of exchange with the spirits have been safely negotiated and the passage made from potential enemy to actual affinal kin in the throwing off of the palm-leaf spirit clothes, the hosts leave behind the coercive nature of their former transactions and move into a moment of true generosity, kinship and companionship. The visitors are fed. This moments symbolizes the passage from a male associated form of relation, to a female associated form of relation, that of feeding, of giving food. The incoming 'male' moiety is transformed into affinal kin by the resident 'female' moiety through the prestations. The giving seems to multiply and exaggerate the gestures of a wife towards her husband upon his return from the forest or the river.

Nevertheless, the gifts are clearly the result of male-female complementary cooperation; there is no invisibility of "domestic women" in the flurry of giving. Women serve the plates that men give to their chais, and women take the plates from their husbands who have received. In the women's Kachanaua, men indicate the importance of this complementarity by standing behind their wives during the gift-giving, holding female carrying baskets and cradling babies. The food itself symbolizes this complementarity, each plate containing 'male' fish or meat, 'female' manioc or green banana, and each pan of caissuma a mixture of 'female' peanuts and 'male' corn.

In the description of headhunting in Abreu, there is an emphasis placed upon the importance of feeding the visitors who have been invited to receive the heads and whose arrows were used to kill the game [47]. The hunters go to their neighbour's maloca, after returning from a month long hunt, and say:

> My relatives, we took your arrows, and we have returned from killing very much game; tomorrow, come and eat! [48]

The next day the visitors go and enter the maloca of the hunters, just as in the Kachanauas I witnessed. After an interval of dancing Ho Ho, they stop, are given stools upon which to sit, and are handed their food. They eat and eat, Abreu's informant told him and what they cannot finish, they take home with them. This emphasis on consumption reflects the nature of the transaction, which is very different to the exchanges which take place in 'bridewealth' societies (cf. Collier and Rosaldo). The exchange in modern Kachanaua is indeed reciprocal: there is a reverse flow of presents in morning and afternoon. People say that one must give back to those from whom one has recieved, (*manakuɨ-*, 'to reciprocate'). In the Conta festival many urged me to write down the names of those who gave to me, as the missionaries had done, so that I should not forget. This reciprocity and that of 'bridewealth' societies differs in that endebtedness does not continue beyond a completed double set of transactions. The food exchange is a transaction complete in itself and does not engender future flows of gifts as moka or kula does. This is a reciprocity of feeding, rather than a reciprocity of giving. Moka, like Kachanaua, is concerned with production and with kinship. But whereas in moka the production of bodies and of kin takes place away from the domain of exchange and is at times portrayed as being at odds with it, in Kachanaua it is the production of bodies and kin that is the focus of the ritual prestations [49].

The prestations represent a moment in the mundane process of production, circulation and consumption. The prestation is a point, a moment in this process; it is not the peak of a social structure, or evidence of a higher abstract organizing principle conceived as a policing device for a base of chronic social dissonance, as Rivière argued for the Trio festival [50]. Although, like Sahlins' (1972) 'Maussian gift', the exchange marks the difference between donor and receiver, it also signals the approximation of two conceptually opposed kinds of being into a single category of 'human' and kin. The 'female' moiety gives to the 'male' moiety both as unrelated affines and potential marriage partners and as close kin (cross-cousins).

As I have demonstrated, the process is in thought and in practice one that requires the mutual enablement and cooperation of male and female. The productive activities of one sex make the other able to produce and this enablement is mutual. Men, I have said, have one kind of productive relations (with the outside) and women another (with the inside). I do not mean by this that women are the inside and men the outside. These gender affiliations are part of the process, not parts of a structure. External male transactions are a necessary moment, just as female internal transactions are a necessary moment, in the creation of kinship and kin.

Gender and Ambiguity

In the last chapter I suggested that there is a double ambiguity associated with male and female, such that men are both thought to be makers of social order, moralizers par excellence in political oratory and also to be experts in the antisocial game of killing and cheating, characteristic of their difficult interactions with forest and city. Equally, women are thought to be makers of social disorder - they are inclined to lying and adultery - and yet it is they who also inhabit the very centre of the social world, the *mae*.

This ambiguity is not elaborated in the Kachanaua ritual. Some might detect an ambiguity in the fact that the food prestation is phrased in male terms, but as I have said, this is hardly surprising considering that in indigenous ideology external exchange is a male domain. This language has led several ethnographers to mistakenly identify 'exchange' between male-gendered people as the pivot of social organization, whereas in fact it is merely a moment in the process of social construction or process. The crucial difference lies between chais who are only potential affines and chais who are made into real affinal kin through feeding and through sex. This is part of the process of Kachanaua. If we view gender ambiguity as explicable in terms of sequence and process, rather than a problem of structure, then ambiguity ceases to be a difficulty.

Like the Arawete person, the Cashinahua *enabu*, "my kin", is always in the process of becoming, and never fixed in a stasis of being [51]. In their metaphysical approach to "becoming" the Cashinahua differ from the Arawete in the way that they draw upon a series of related notional oppositions such as moiety/moiety, gender/gender, and living/dead. In Viveiros de Castro's terms, they are true dialectical thinkers, like the Gê or the Bororo. They also make a distinction between two opposed forms of interaction, one constitutive of kin relations and the other of relations with non-kin/non-humans/enemies. Both kinds of interaction are necessary for corporeal and community growth and in Kachanaua the relation between these two forms is expressed. The expression can be thought of most clearly in the shifting of focus which takes place on the last day, from external relations summed up in the form of heads, (the most eternal part of animal and human bodies, of meat and male production), to internal relations summed up in the suggestion of plant bodies, the caissuma of the *kacha*, the making grow of cultivated plants in the Ho Ho songs, in vegetable food and female production. By thus implicitly stressing gender division of labour in the creation process, the Cashinahua do not imply a vision of a social whole divided into men and women. On the contrary, as I have shown, male-female reciprocity and complementarity integrate community and form the foundation of the social process.

Section 3: Conclusion to Chapter 5

It should be stressed that Kachanaua is not a representation. People say that the spirits of the forest really do come to the village. "*Yuxinkí*" ("It is a spirit"), they said to me about the decorated incoming moiety. How can one explain the fact that they also know that there are real kinspeople under the palm fronds and feather headresses? The answer lies in the conception of personhood which I discussed in Chapter 2. Every person is made up of body and several 'souls' (*yuxin*). One of these *yuxin* is the eye soul which is linked to his or her name and which can be detached from the body after death. Names are a person's link to moieties. It seems likely that the Cashinahua think of the incoming moiety in terms of this spirit side of names, which are after all eternal like seeds. It is as if the *dau* (decorations) temporarily make the men of the incoming moiety less persons and more spirits, just as they make them anonymous until the disguises are thrown off. Then, the fact that they are living combinations of name, spirit, corporeal strength, and linguistic ability (that is, true persons) is revealed.

It would be possible to take Kachanaua as evidence of a conceptual division in Cashinahua thinking between men and women, such that the former are considered the makers of a politically and ritually defined society and the latter as an apolitical base conceived of as natural or domestic out of which male-made society springs. Deshayes and Keifenheim's (1982) analysis of the ritual comes dangerously close to this position. Perhaps the Gê-ologists that I discussed in the Introduction might consider a similar approach. If so, it would be likely that the underlying premise would be an equation between men and culture on the one hand, and women and nature on the other. This is the approach that Gregor has taken for the Mehinaku Pequi rituals, which he sees as a means of male domination of women. Although Gregor notes that in Mehinaku biology men and women are thought of as products of cultural activity, rather than natural processes and sex is thought of as learned behaviour, so that men and women are made different by human activity, he makes full use of the female/male, domestic/public, dominated/dominator paradigm [52]. Mehinaku society, he says, is a patriarchal one, based on the men's control of culture, politics and ritual. The purpose of the secret men's cult of Kauka flutes is to terrorize women into submission. Gang rape is the punishment for women who see the flutes and refuse to remain shut up, excluded and intimidated, in their houses. Similarily, in the Pequi fruit rites, women are not supposed to see the bullroarers at the beginning of the ritual cycle.

The bullroarers, like all the other spirits propitiated during the festival, are connected with the orchards of Pequi whose fruit has matured at the time they are held. They are like the wild plant spirits of the Cashinahua (although they are not thought of as plants themselves. they are either just spirits, or animals such as bees, anteaters, birds and crickets). As in Kachanaua, these Pequi spirits are brought into the village enacted by men and after initial hostility (in this case the women hide, enacting fear, or else attack the spirits in a variety of games involving much sexual taunting and joking), they are fed with Pequi mash made from the very fruits they have made fertile. If my analysis of feeding is accepted, they are thus rendered safe by being made into affinal kin, before being escorted by men and women back to the garden.

Gregor dismisses the Mehinaku explanation of the import and purpose of the rites - increase magic and protection for the children from spirit attack - by saying that their central theme is the opposition of the sexes and not illness [53]. He says that sexual taunting is a tool used by men to ritually humiliate and thus dominate women and he portrays women's taunting of men as a feeble response that fails as a "counterrevolution" against male patriarchy. By so doing he manages to ignore the central meaning of the rites for the Mehinaku themselves, which - like Kachanaua - is clearly social regeneration. It seems to me that the propitiation of Pequi garden spirits, with such elaborate ritual commentary on the relationship between men and women, and sex in particular, is meant to ensure the health and safety of children. Gregor (ibid) notes that in Mehinaku conception theory children are formed out of semen and semen is made out of female foods such as manioc.

The sexual games played by the Mehinaku men and women express an aspect of the indigenous theory of social regeneration, like the Cashinahua fire games. Gregor has chosen to interpret these as evidence of male domination of women, a tactic which fails to account for the friendship and affection which he notes to be an aspect of male-female relations in other contexts. Furthermore, Gregor fails to note that the ritual expresses amply the complementarity between male and female that is a universal feature in indigenous Lowland social organization, and one that he takes note of elsewhere [54]. I defer judgement on whether or not this relationship is both hierarchical and complementary in the

Mehinaku case as it appears to be elsewhere (for example amongst the Yanomamo, the Jivaro and Achuar, and the Barasana). However, I do not think one can argue that women are held down by men under a threat of gang rape, as Gregor and Bamberger for example argue. The Mehinaku themselves say it is the spirits (the trumpets and the bull-roarers) that would rape the women if they laid eyes upon them. The women must show fear, not of men, but of spirits because of the rampant sexual desire that the spirits feel for the women. Such a rape defiles the woman, who is liable to become pregnant with a monstrous foetus which must be killed at birth. It is clearly an event that ought to be avoided, both from the male and the female points-of-view. We find that in other cultures the effects of women seeing secret flutes or trumpets are disastrous from the point-of-view of the human community (and not just the women or the men). For example, the Piaroa say that everyone must commit mass suicide by jumping off a cliff if this were to happen (Overing,p.c.).

A man who had participated in the only gang rape in the 40 years prior to Gregor's field work expressed his own personal distaste of the affair to Gregor. Men told him that a rape would only take place if there was no way of avoiding it. However if a woman saw the trumpets and was seen by many men, it would have to be carried out.

A single gang rape in 40 years in my opinion does not constitute male domination of women. To support this view would be to dismiss the tenor and substance of male-female relations in daily life, which is a central focus on special ritual occasions for the Mehinaku as for the Cashinahua. Gregor does not argue that rape outside of a ritual context is a male means of controlling women. If the secret male possessions like trumpets represent male control over a domain denied to women, then women in Upper Xingu cultures have their own secret female cult, as Basso (1973) described for the Kalapalo. Both single-sex activities are to do with aspects of procreation. Basso says that women have made childbirth into a public event from which men are excluded upon pain of becoming contaminated with blood. Such contamination, it seems to me, is comparable to the defilement of a woman raped by the 'spirits' and contaminated with semen. I believe it would be possible to show that in the Mehinaku rituals women stand for female humanity and that the male Pequi spirits are portrayed as being sexually attracted into the village by women, as happens with the male and female moieties of Kachanaua. Real sexual conjunction is denied the spirits, who are in the end sent back to the gardens to continue their work of caring for Pequi fertility on behalf of human beings.

If, unlike Gregor, we begin from the premise that the heart of sociality is kinship, then it becomes clear that his analysis of Mehinaku gender is off to a false start. Cashinahua people are first persons and then male and female; not simply one or the other. Gender should be defined as an aspect of personhood and personhood is a notion predicated on the idea that true people are kin. Women are not conceived of as a lesser form of men; rather men and women are simply different kinds of human beings [55].

In this chapter I have shown how it is possible to interpret one particular ritual as an expression of an ideology of the creative process, which seems to say very much about the place of gender in the social process. I do not claim that my interpretation is exhaustive, nor that in every aspect it is conclusively proven. It would take a much more detailed investigation, involving a full study of the corpus of myths and a comparative analysis of other ritual cycles which take place at other times or concurrently with Kachanaua. S.Hugh-Jones (1979) has shown the importance of devoting such attention to the analysis of ritual in his study of the Vaupes Yurupary ritual complex. He comments that studies of Vaupes cultures gave at most the space of a chapter to a complex which he was unable to exhaustively study in a book [56].

Hugh-Jones shows that Barasana male and female gender is not concieved of as being unitarily attached to ritual objects. Thus both the "He" trumpets and the gourd of beeswax, which are forbidden to women's eyes like the Kauka flutes of the Mehinaku, combine male and female attributes. They are both containers and contained, hard and soft, sexually ambiguous, although the trumpets are primarily male and the gourd primarily female (1979:190-2). Hugh-Jones does not however detach gender as an attribute of persons in the same way as he does for ritual symbols, making an implicit equation between sex and gender. This "real" distinction is used in ritual to express opposed aspects of the creative process. This is something that Hugh-Jones can do because the Barasana themselves, unlike the Cashinahua, do not use women to stand for 'men and women' vis-à-vis spirits as in Kachanaua. For the virilocal Barasana, sexual women (wives and mothers) are outsiders and sexual men (fathers and sons) are insiders. It would therefore make no sense to use women to stand for the inside.

Hugh-Jones warns that there is no one unitary interpretation of the rites. He uses the Nature/Culture distinction but does not totally elide women with 'the natural' and men with the 'cultural', suggesting rather that women at times stand for the 'natural' and men for the 'cultural'. Thus he stresses that He is both female menstruation and male spirit power (1979):142).

The relationship between the sexes is seen as complementary; men embody linear creativity, involving the destruction of life in one sphere for its creation in another, whilst women embody cyclical creativity (like the succession of the seasons and the growth of animals and plants), making life in one sphere, out of their own bodies or the soil (both natural). As well as stressing the complementary relationship between cyclical and linear creativity, Hugh-Jones adds that the male domination of the He spirit world in ritual involves the dominance of women at a social level (p.251).

In contrast, Gregor seems to think that the purpose of ritual is to enforce pre-existing social domination and that it stems from male fear of women. For Gregor, actual domination is there a priori and to be perpetuated by all means including the trickery of ritual. Hugh-Jones is more respectful of indigenous preoccupations; the domination of women that he observed in day-to-day relations between men and women are a product of the requirements of belief about cosmology and human interaction with the spirits. But he seems to be saying that this domination is thought of as necessary, since he says that the rituals are needed for the creation of order in the human world (p.9), and the "continuance of society in a healthy and ordered state" (p.10). For Hugh-Jones, men make society in the sense of a ritual event and product and women make people.

I have shown in this chapter that it is possible to look at such rituals as Kachanaua without recourse to a nature/culture paradigm or the associated male/female and public/domestic dichotomy. Kensinger's (1981) claim that the Cashinahua conceive of a natural world, a spiritual world and a human world is misleading unless we make quite clear that our Western concepts of spiritual and natural are not part of Cashinahua ontology. The Cashinahua link up what we prefer to see as diametric opposites, opposed entities such as substance to substanceless, real to imagined, nature to culture. Spirit, human, animal and plant are all linked in Cashinahua ontology, even though under normal circumstances they must be kept apart. They are linked because just as for the Barasana He is an aspect of animal, human, and spirit 'worlds', so for the Cashinahua all living things have a *yuxin* side which is of interest to the spirits, and all spirits have a potential efficacy in the domain of the living (here and now in the cosmos). The relation between the mortal domain of animals, plants and humans, and the immortal domain of the spirits is of central interest in Kachanaua. But it does not revolve around a pre-occupation with 'structuring' human social organization through manipulating an opposition between nature and culture. 'Social structure' would be an idea alien to the Cashinahua.

There is no justification for seeing a (male) ordered structure which would incorporate individuals into social roles, focal males exchanging sisters in cross-cousin marriage (Kensinger) or groups of affines engaged in a never-ending reaffirmation of political alliance (Deshayes and Keifenheim). In the place of such an interpretation, I have suggested that the features that have been used by these authors in the construction of structure should be seen as dynamic aspects of process.

Thus, I have argued that conceptual opposites expressed in Kachanaua frame a process of transformation which from the Cashinahua point-of-view results in the creation of life. The forest meat, taken forcefully by men using powers originally acquired from forest spirits (the *yubexeni* snake and the ayahuasca spirits) and through strength that they have acquired through the food given them by kin, is conceptually opposed to the garden produce that is associated with women and which women harvest and cook as a result of male intervention in the forest. Raw meat and fish is a focus at the beginning of Kachanaua, when sexual taunting and male-female recipocal games act as hunting magic, increasing male potency as hunters and killers. Vegetable produce is the focus at the end of the ritual cycle when the cooked meat is presented to the forest spirits who have helped propagate plant bodies on the one hand and animal and fish bodies on the other. Their consumption of the food affirms their affinal kinship with the human inhabitants of the earth which finds its expression in their role as 'naming' grandparents of garden plants, as the 'fathers' of those plants, and as the parents of wild forest animals and river fish. The end product of the ritual is a symbolic birth, in the form of the destruction of the *kacha*, and is followed by the actual proliferation of the plant life of the gardens, the fruits of the forest and the increase of game. It is upon this vegetable and animal abundance that human sociality and reproduction is dependent.

The process is cyclical, each act of killing, transforming, or feeding dependent upon a previous combination of such acts. A man or woman can only be strong and knowledgeable and thus able to produce, because of past caring on the part of kin. Life can only be generated through death, plants can only grow when seed is dried and sown, or stems are destroyed and buried; gardens can only grow if the forest is cut down and burned; the settlement is only beautiful if the scrub is periodically mown down; kinship is only possible if there are enemies to interact with; children can only become adults if bodies are named for namesake grandparents.

Despite the cyclical basis of it all life itself is a process, a forward movement, a flow to more kinspeople and bigger and better communities. Despite every setback, every crop failure, every epidemic, every death of kinspeople, there is still the hope that progress wil be made, that in the future hard work and good relations between coresident villagers will ensure an abundance of food, manufactured goods and medicines, so that the children will grow up strong and healthy and the gardens will never be barren of crops, or the women's larders empty of stored meat and fish.

Kachanaua is one expression of this ambition. Through it, we can see the importance the Cashinahua place upon relations between men and women on the one hand, and humans and spirits on the other. Far from being a people who strive towards the world of spirits, making the perfection of spirit villages and their crystalline existence the image of how a perfect structured human world might be, they use their energies to convert human exchange with the spirits into general fertility. Thus they turn the encounter to human advantage. This advantage is conceived of and lived as the untroubled growth and flourishing of the human community of men and women and their children.

CONCLUSION

At the outset I asked if it would be possible for people to live socially without an ideal image of their own social form. I proposed to show that the Cashinahua do indeed live in this way. In order to do this I began by looking at the Cashinahua construction of personhood, which must be understood if one is to make sense of Cashinahua social organization.

I showed that rather than conceiving a distinction between social role or social 'persona' (personage) and biological 'persona', the Cashinahua think of personhood as the product of a processual dialectic involving cycles of production, distribution and consumption. These activities are engaged in by kin in a variety of evolving relationships with each other. The activities of adult and productive kin in the ascendant generation enable young people (their children and grandchildren) to develop the skills of moral personhood. Thus the young develop from mere consumers into into producing adults who engage in the economic and sexual relations constitutive of social living. I attempted also to show that the Cashinahua notion of the person subsumes that of gender. Whilst human agency constitutes sociality, the gender distinction provides the dynamic within it. Male and female agency in interaction enable the production of sociality; therefore, in order to understand social organization, one must accord gender a central place in the analysis.

Cashinahua social organization, far from being thought of in terms of a male distancing from and domination of the female, springs from a way of conceptualizing and practising male-female relations that locates them at the heart of the social process. From this viewpoint economic and political processes are also best seen as aspects of social organization and I have tried to show how a focus on gender clarifies our understanding of them. This focus is particularily effective in this Lowland South American context, for it solves a problem that is salient in current anthropology - how to discuss social organization without recourse to structuralist discourse and a representational theory of social ordering. I have shown that Cashinahua social organization is processual and cannot be effectively discussed only in terms of structure. In order to do this I demonstrated the centrality of male-female relations in the thinking and the lives of the Cashinahua people.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] I have deliberately chosen to use the term 'structuralism' in a wide sense, and not as a reference to one particular school of analysis of social organization such as the French tradition following Lévi-Strauss (1969). The 'neo-Marxist' analyses to which I refer were inspired by Turner (1979). They include Rivière (1985); Mentore (1987); Rosengren (1988).

[2] Gow (1988) discusses this in relation to a people who would previously have been regarded as acculturated (the Piro). He comments: "One of the most important problems in all the modes of analysis above (i.e. 'acculturationists' such as Wagley and Galvão, or later authors such as Cardoso de Oliveira and Ribeiro) is the analytical priority they give to history. the present culture of the Native Amazonian society under study is to be understood in terms of the modification of a prior situation, the baseline or 'traditional' culture. This 'traditional' culture is that of the people under study prior to their contact with non-Native Amazonian people, and it is the difference between this 'traditional' culture and contemporary culture which is to be explained by either acculturation, 'ethnic transfiguration', or inter-ethnic conflict" (1988;20). It is the change from one to the other that is conceived of as history according to Gow. The ethnography of contemporary cultures, including Native People's discourse, is dismissed as irrelevant to the analysis. (NOTE: Gow uses 'Native People' as a direct translation from a contemporary Peruvian polite term - Gente Nativa).

[3] The concept 'acculturation' implies that the indigenous culture will be lost as its bears assimilate the culture of their neighbours the rural peasantry. 'Ethnic transfigurationists' argue instead that the traditional culture will be lost, but the people who bore it will become assimilated to a generic category 'Indian' without cultural vibrancy. The social group that remains is a mere'ethnic entity' without cultural specificity. Against the acculturationists, they say that the relation between 'National Society' and the 'Indians' is one of direct domination, and not of mere contact between different cultures.

[4] (1987):729. Falk Moore goes on to suggest that the emphasis should be placed upon process instead of practice since the former term "conveys an analytic emphasis on continuous production and construction without differentiating in that respect between repetition and innovation" (Ibid). Whilst agreeing with her aims, I would not see the advantage of concentrating on 'diagnostic events' as she suggests. Falk Moore herself clings to the idea of structure, although she introduces notions of anti-structure and non-structure, of a pluralism of meanings in any one ethnographic scene (perhaps taking her cue from Victor Turner).

[5] Strathern (1985) says that Sack's 'communal productive mode' is the equivalent of Collier and Rosaldo's 'brideservice systems' - see Karen Sacks Sisters and Wives: the Past and Future of Sexual Equality London, Greenwood Press, 1979.

[6] See for example Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971); Gregor (1985); Crocker (1985). Christine Hugh-Jones in particular has shown the importance of analysing the symbolic aspects of sexual and economic processes in relation to social organization. In a structuralist analysis of these processes she draws out intricate logical and symbolic links between these domains. Siskind (1973) and (1974) examines the relation between social and economic practice and cultural elaboration on the themes of food and sex. She considers that culturally produced scarcity of women creates a situation in which men compete to gain access to female sexuality through exchange of naturally scarce meat, a male produce. Gow (unpub) takes Siskind up. He notes that she is one of the few who overtly link a study of the 'subsistence economy' to Amazonian elaborations on food and sex. Gow criticizes her treatment of the male-female relationship as based on 'exchange'. He says "As Strathern (1984) has pointed out, such unstated importation of a commodity based logic can seriously hamper the analysis of social systems where such idioms are quite alien" (Ibid:2). His own analysis, in contrast, examines cyclical economic processes in relation to the cultural construction of gender, focusing in particular on the relation between the sexual and oral desires of male and female subjects and the productive dialectic generated by this relation.

[7] Following Gow (op cit).

[8] The possibility of sociality is constantly present in all stages of social, economic and political processes. I would say that Cashinahua people experience it at different moments of the socio-economic process as the memory of morally correct 'good living' in the past, the expectation of such in the future, and the explicit emotion of participation in it in the present. From this perspective the 'exchanges' (a term I do not use) are an aspect of sociality, and not sociality in its entirety.

[9] This point will become clearer in the comparative discussion of the literature in the last section of the Introduction. I am referring to the analytical assumption that 'society' is constructed out of and transcends a base of domestic units or households and that male gender is an aspect of the social, female an aspect of the domestic. Feminist anthropologists were the first to question this assumption during the 1970s. See for example Rosaldo (1974); (1980); Sanday (1974); Yanagisako (1979); Atkinson (1982); and for a critique in the Lowland context, Overing (1986b). For the public-private distinction in relation to male and female see Reiter (1975) and Ardener (1981), especially articles by Hirschon and Sciama. Collier and Yanagisako (1987) give an overview of the debate, and several articles in the collection discuss aspects of the points raised. Harris (1981) is a lucid critique of the use of the public/domestic distinction in Sahlins' theory of the 'domestic mode of production'. Henrietta Moore's (1988) Feminism and Anthropology provides a concise overview.

[10] Gow (1988):94.

[11] This is Gow's reply to Siskind's view that men and women exchange food for sex (see footnote 6 above)

[12] This goes against a major claim in Collier and Rosaldo's (1981) thesis. They argue that cultures of 'brideservice' type do not elaborate female reproduction symbolically. On the Bajo Urubamba male/female collaboration in reproduction is constantly elaborated in practice and in discourse; and so too with the Cashinahua.

[13] Maybury-Lewis' Akwẽ - Shavante Society (1974) [1967], for example, was the first sociological analysis of Lowland 'social structure' in terms of 'alliance theory'. Maybury-Lewis cites Lévi-Strauss's articles on social organization in Structural Anthropology as his principle theoretical stimulus (Ibid: Preface). He says that is is 'an essay in structural analysis' and seeks to relate cultural categories to the 'rules of their society' and 'patterns of action observable within it' (Ibid). Riviére's Marriage among the Trio (1969) belongs to the British structuralist-functionalist tradition. Henley (1982) is also within the British school and bases his conclusions on 'empirical analysis'. Lévi-Strauss's views of 'social structure' continue to be developed in the work of a number of French scholars such as Taylor (1983) on Achuar marriage and kinship; and in the United States by Shapiro (see for example (1984) and (1987)). Arhem (1981) discusses 'formal social structure' in relation to practice.

[14] Thus Maybury-Lewis's view of Shavante 'lineages' was the last as well as the first of its kind. Later he said that analysis in terms of unilineal descent in this ethnographic context 'is not very helpful' (1979: 306). During the early Seventies Lowland specialists continued to make use of the ideas generated by the alliance/descent debate. Rivière (1969) and (1974a) follows Yalman (1962) in stressing the importance of a preference for 'prescriptive cross-cousin marriage' as a strategy for keeping reproduction within a kin group and excluding outsiders. Overing Kaplan (1972) and (1975) stresses the importance of the idea of alliance following Dumont (1953). She showed that the alliance principle can be used to integrate endogamous groups which simultaneously adhere to a conceptual opposition between kinship and affinity. Groups affirming the kinship basis of their social organization such as the Piaroa can be built out of political alliances based on leaders arranging marriages, including exogamous ones. Unrelated affines are subsequently converted into kin through the use of kinship terminology.

15: Overing (1977) says "Social time in Lowland South America is not genealogical time" and descent is a concept that does not fit in that context. "The language of 'descent' and of 'affinity' does not adequately capture social organizational features of South American societies" (Ibid:9). She continues: "In Africa proper ordering is concerned with corporate property holding groups which must perpetuate themselves as such through time. From my reading of much of the data in South America, society recreates itself anew each generation and 'group' is almost as elusive a concept as 'descent' " (Ibid: 10) .

16: Ibid pp.179-180. For example: "When social science sets up the problem of conversion, from the (natural) individual to the role-playing person, it entertains a notion of human nature as raw biological matter to be moulded by society" (Ibid:180).

17: See Lévi-Strauss (1968) - chapter 2 and (1976) - chapter 7.

18: Lévi-Strauss (1968): 303 criticizes Radcliffe-Brown for failing to distinguish between 'social structure' and 'the whole network of social relations' conceived as sets of dyadic relations and praises Bateson for seeing that 'there is something more to social structure than dyadic relations, that is, the structure itself' (Ibid:304). Lévi-Strauss argues that his idea of structure is very different from Radcliffe-Brown's, but in his definition of it (Ibid:279-80) he asserts that 'social relations consist of the raw materials out of which the models making up the social structure are built...' Whereas ethnographers contend with such material in the raw, Lévi-Strauss draws his 'raw material' from the end-product of their struggles with 'real' dyadic relations. I do not think there are grounds for totally divorcing this brand of structuralism from Radcliffe-Brown's variety, since Lévi-Strauss does not always question the value of the ethnography he draws upon (structural-functionalist or otherwise - and see Kuper (1988) on this). Whatever the merits of a higher degree of abstraction, an original degree of ethnographic validity must come first.

19: Lévi-Strauss says "In any society, communication operates on 3 different levels: commuication of women, communication of goods and services, communication of messages. Therefore, kinship studies, economics and linguistics approach the same kind of problems on different strategic levels and really pertain to the same field..... from marriage to language one passes from low- to high-speed communication; this arises from the fact that what is communicated in marriage is almost of the same nature as those who communicate (women, on the one hand, men, on the other), while speakers of languages are not of the same nature as their utterances."(1968): 296-7. Also see Elementary Structures, chapter 29.

20: Strathern (1985):192 makes a similar point with regard to the separation between kinship and economy as analytical domains of investigation.

21: Lévi-Strauss [(1968): 284] considers this to be a positive effect of structuralism.

22: It occurs to me that when Lévi-Strauss talks about the transaction of 'women, words, and goods' he is thinking of 'words' in this mode, as things - in fact as written words rather than as they are spoken and conceived by non-literate peoples. I should perhaps note that at the time I wrote this introduction I was unaware J. Fabian's similar discussion of the relationship between representation and structuralism in Western culture and its importance in anthropology - see his Time and the Other (1983).

23: Thus Amazonian people display little interest in pictorial representations of their concepts of the 'cosmos'. For example, Townsley (1989) describes how he made a drawing of the Yaminahua layered cosmos and showed it to his principle informant. The man said that it might be like that. Townsley goes on to say that the Yamininahua do not have a fixed image of the cosmos. Overing (1988) focuses upon the creative use of language and in particular affixes by the Piaroa in the construction of 'worlds'. She shows how shamans elaborate chant language out of complex reference to mythic history, in order to cure persons afflicted by the animal manifestations of mythic elements (i.e. what she calls the poisonous forces of undomesticated culture). Words constructed in this way by shamans refer to events which literally occurred in the mythic past. Their efficacy lies in their power to directly cure the person afflicted, because they are 'true statements' (Ibid:2). Such language is not symbolic or metaphorical. The words are not representations of things 'out there' or in the past, but 'express the complexity of agency in its transformations through history'.

24: See Gow (forthcoming) for a discussion of these issues with regard to Piro design, literacy and shamanism.

25: Leacock argues that Lévi-Strauss saw "human society as primarily a masculine society", building a theory of social origins on women as virtual commodities exchanged in the transactions of male operators (1981:111). Strathern (ms: 275) agrees that Lévi-Strauss lays himself open to this charge of equating women with commodities because he says that like food women have a self-evident value. That is, they are both a 'stimulant' and a source of life. Men can therefore seek to transact women amongst themselves, as unique values. Women can also be used as signs for the relations that men create among themselves because of their intrinsic value. I would argue that this idea of intrinsic value (to other persons i.e, the category of 'men') that can be transacted by the evaluators necessarily entails the possibility of objectification and of detachability. This is why women in such structuralist theories are treated as 'commodities'. Lévi-Strauss himself does appear somewhat confused, since he also recognizes that women are 'persons' (not values) and are 'almost like men' (see FN 19 above).

26: This thesis is not about 'sexual inequality' (see Strathern (1987) for a discussion of the difficulties of this concept). Judgements about whether or not women in Lowland South American cultures are 'really' dominated by men or not are necessarily subjective in my view and open to manipulation by those who make them. As Clastres, Overing and others have noted, Lowland people usually think of relationships in terms of a principle of personal autonomy such that no one person can legitimately coerce another to do something against her or his will (see chapter 4 below). In this area one does not find evidence of explicit ideologies of male domination linked to a structural dependency of women upon men. In cases where men are said by analysts to be structurally in a relation of control with women (such as in Turner's analysis of the Kayapo) a lack of explicit reference to this control by the people concerned is usually noted. Some analysts attempt to ascribe an explicit philosophy of 'male control' in interpretations of informants' statements taken to imply that this is the case ('men are stronger than women'; 'women suffer a lot'). Other analysts might ascribe an implicit philosophy of male control, citing as evidence any one of a number of 'indicators': exclusion of women from male rituals (Gregor); a degree of male violence against women (Dole on the Amahuaca; Chagnon, Lizot); gang rape (Gregor; Bamberger); women's responsibility for cooking, gardening or childcare and so on. Some authors simply assert that 'men dominate women' in Lowland South America, such as Shapiro (1987). She relies on the relatively common assumption amongst anthropologists that male dominance is a cultural universal (see Yanagisako and Collier, same volume). A few other analysts of Lowland cultures, following Leacock (1978), posit an original egalitarianism between the sexes that was corrupted by the intrusion of alien cultural values and / or the penetration of national society via socio-economic colonization (see Buenaventura-Posso and Brown (1980); Barclay (1985). I prefer to focus on indigenous conceptions and idioms of gender and personhood in relation to personal autonomy, social dependence, sociality and so on.

27: This is one reason why characterizations of the gift tend to be highly abstract and difficult to follow - to be included in the analysis despite the ethnography and not as an outgrowth of it. I am not suggesting that there is a 'real' cultural concept somewhere, only that the analytic utility of a concept of 'the Gift' in this context is minimal. Although structuralists might argue that the gift is an abstract idea, part of the observer's model, and so on, there seems little point to me in divorcing it entirely from the ethnography. See Parry (1986) for a discussion of differing notions of 'the gift' in other ethnographic contexts.

28: Strathern (1985) and (ms). See Gell (in press) for a different view.

29: This conclusion is the fruit of many discussions with Peter Gow.

30: When a person dies his or her possessions are usually destroyed or thrown away. See for example Bertrand- Rousseau (1986); Townsley (1989); Goldman (1963).

31: Rivière (1969:270) thus says that women are a 'fundamental' transactable property for the Trio. Lizot says that for the Yanomami "en realité, les femmes sont le bien rare dans l'absolu" (quoted in Rivière ms:3). Descola (1983) states that Achuar male control of the sphere of external relations on a supra-familial level is the source of male domination of women. Men have exclusive decisive power, according to Descola, in "the general process of circulation of women" (idem:88) implying that women are the supreme value. Men have a monopoly of all forms of exchange, whether of women, words, goods, signs or deaths. However in this paper (which is about the 'sphere of production' not of 'exchange') Descola does not substantiate this view, nor specify what he means by 'exchange'.

32: I discuss Lea's work below. Overing (nd) argues that the Shavante (a Gê group) conform more closely to Collier and Rosaldo's (1981) model of a 'brideservice society' than any other Lowland culture, and in particular their characterization of male gender as necessarily aggressive and male identity as stemming from their hunting activity. Overing says "The flamboyant ritual celebration of male bellicosity and the male collectivity among the Shavante appears to carry with it a corresponding devaluation of women, and indeed to be built upon it" (Ibid:5). I would take a different approach, separating expressions of maleness in terms of relations to outsiders or to other men, from maleness as expressed or conceived in relation to women. I take Overing's point that agressive male identity vis-a-vis outsiders is bound to affect conceptions of gender vis-a-vis kin and coresidents to some extent - (Ibid: 7). But how? The relation is not a simple one. Maybury-Lewis (1974:86) states that relations between Shavante women and their husbands in daily life are harmonious and nonviolent. I believe that rituals involving 'gang rape' of women such as the wai'a ceremony to which Overing refers in support of her view should be analysed bearing in mind such good relations outside of ritual. The polysemantic and multifunctional nature of action in ritual is important. Their primary and expressed purpose is usually not 'male domination'of women in these cases. Exegesis should be taken seriously before concluding that 'male domination of women' is their main social function. This should especially be the case where male-female relations are 'harmonious' on the whole, as with the Shavante. C.Hugh-Jones (1979: 279) notes that ritual cannot be understood without detailed reference to secular life, a point which she backs up amply in that book. I discuss these issues in more detail in chapter 5.

33: Turner (1979a):

34: See also Mentore (1987); Rosengren (1988) for recent developments of this line on the Waiwai and the Machiguenga respectively.

35: This includes the indigenous peoples of Surinam, the Northwestern tip of Brazil and Southeastern Venezuela.

36: Studies of these peoples include the works of Goldman; C.Hugh-Jones; S.Hugh-Jones; Reichel-Dolmatoff; J.Jackson; Arhem; and Hill.

37: For a theoretical approach to the Guianas differing from Rivière's, see Overing Kaplan (1975).

38: Also of lacking a theory of the person. Viveiros de Castro (1986b) points out that if the people studied think of the cosmological world and its inhabitants as real, the analyist should take this into account.

39: This is one of the features that Collier and Rosaldo consider defining features of 'brideservice societies'.

40: 1969: 269.

41: Ibid:270.

42: The implication is that female concerns are circumscribed by men, thought of as 'confined' to economic production. I think such a view of the female domain is biased towards a purely hypothetical indigenous male view, one that is imposed upon the data. Forrest (1987) and Overing (1986b) discuss such 'male bias' in relation to the Lowland literature, and it is unecessary to go over this ground here. I might add that I agree with Strathern (ms) that feminist tactics of focusing on women as subjects and as agents do not redress the problems caused by 'male bias'. The focus must be upon conceptualizations of gender and upon male-female relations rather than merely upon women as acting subjects.

43: Other writers such as Henley (1982) on the Panaré, Thomas (1982) on the Pemon and Price (1981) on the Nambikuara treat the 'domestic group' or 'nuclear family' as the self-evident bounded entity in a similar fashion. Henley and Thomas appear to consider Sahlins (1976) model of the 'domestic mode of production' appropriate in the analysis of the Panaré and the Pemon respectively.

44: See Viveiros de Castro (1984).

45: In contrast to Rivière's own deconstruction of the Nature/Culture conceptual opposition in his (1969) book on the Trio. Authors who used the terminology of Nature/Culture include for example C. Hugh-Jones, S.Hugh-Jones, Da Matta, and Seeger.

46: Strathern (1980):181.

47: Ibid:182.

48: The centrality of the male-female relation thought in these terms is often assumed rather than made explicit. Studies tend to play down the social importance of male-female complementarity and play up conceptualizations of relationships between men, for example in C.Hugh-Jones' discussion of social organization in terms of 'the set of specialist (male) roles'. Goldman (1963) on the Cubeo is an exception. His book leaves an impression of the tenor of male-female complementarity that later more sophisticated analyses lack. He states for example that "Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused" (Ibid:53). Women work only if they have good relations both with their husbands and with the 'community at large' (Ibid). Goldman stresses that social life is dependent upon the success of marriages and women's contentment in their virilocal lives. Unhappy women go home, so "the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness and satisfaction, and public morale" underpin the productivity of the community (Ibid). My own data and my model of social organization would fit with these statements.

49: (1977): 187 - "Women shuttle back and forth while generations of men accumulate; it is the interrelation between these two processes that creates the individuals and groups of Pira-Parana society". Hugh-Jones argues that men make children with their semen (which contains 'soul-stuff') but women's natural periodicity is transformed into social periodicity by the rules of exogamy. This is because the names of a woman's daughters (the 'fixed stock' of her birth group) return home upon marriage. Wives allow men to produce a new generation of men (sons) who are named for their F'F', and of women (daughters) who are named for their F'FZ'. Naming embodies a theory of social regeneration according to Hugh-Jones, who cites a Barasana informant in support of this. 'Without them we would die out like a rotting corpse', he said (Ibid: 189). I shall analyse Cashinahua naming which is formally simiar to Barasana naming in chapter 2 from a different perspective.

50: See Maybury-Lewis, for example. The Shavante are possibly the most extreme case of this form of separation between male and female domains in Lowland South America.

51: Lévi-Strauss also points this out in a discussion of the relation of 'social structure' to spatial representation. He says there is no fit between village layout and social structure in the Gê-Bororo case, but on the contrary a basic contradiction (1968: 331-2).

52: I am thinking of the Bororo aroe souls which are divided into 8 clans (2 moieties) and which are said to live directly beneath the village. See Crocker (1985).

53: See Viveiros de Castro (1986) comparing Tupi-speaking groups to Gê-Bororo; and Lea (1987) on the Gê-speaking Kayapó.

54: See Maybury-Lewis (1979). Lea (1987) discusses the 'standard Gê model in the introduction to her thesis.

55: She points out that the term 'segment' is inadequate since it does not capture the fact that the same House is located in a similar position in each Kayapó village. Lea found inspiration in Lévi-Strauss (1984) on 'house-based societies'. For Lea the Kayapó Houses are part of a notion of a totality made up of Houses "conceived of as groups of uterine descent" (1987: 16). "These Houses.. are juridic persons in the sense that they retain a quantity of symbolic goods ... personal names and prerogatives which are considered inalienable" (Ibid).

56: Lea (1987: Intro). "The Mẽtùktire (i.e. a group of Kayapó) say that the women feel sad when the men do ceremonies in which they can only participate during the final days. So, they tend to alternate the ceremonies where men have a greater part.." with one's "where women have a greater part, ...or where men and women sing and dance together. .. This (and the fact that men and women have an equal number of "really beautiful" names) relativizes the absolute dichotomy proposed by Turner (1979) relegating women to the periphery" (Ibid: 159)..

57: She quotes him on the Apinayé, of whom he said women have equal part in festivals and ceremonies; on the Timbira, of whom he said both the matriarcate and the enslavement of women were notions foreign to them; and on the Western Timbira "In no circumstances is there any question of masculine dominance over a wife and children" - (from The Eastern Timbira (1946/1971:125) - Lea (1987):376). She adds that one could not put this quite so strongly in the case of the Kayapó.

58: See FN 9 above.

59: Lea (1987: 375) and the men send the anthropologist to the women to find out about names.

60: Lévi-Strauss (1968):279.

61: See Carrithers et al (ed) (1985).

62: Mauss (1985): 19.

63: Viveiros de Castro (1986a).

64: See for example his treatment of the collective hunt by aroe maiwu and subsequent transactions of food between moieties which he says 'may be regarded as an elaborate metaphoric parallel to the exchange of feminine sexuality between moieties" (1985):166.

65: I am refering to the following quotation from Lévi-Strauss : "...primitive institutions are not only capable of conserving what exists, or of retaining briefly a crumbling past, but also of elaborating audacious innovations, even though traditional structures are thus profoundly transformed." (1942/1976): 339) in Leituras de Etnologia Brasileira (ed. Egon Schaden) quoted in Gow (1988): 6.

66: CPI (Comissão pró-Índio); CIMI (Conselho Indigenista Missionàrio); FUNAI (Fundação Nacional dos Índios).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1: See Introduction and FN 3 above.

2: From my own observations I believe that Kensinger overstates the importance of these 'polarities'. My approach to semantic analysis would be to consider the process of the construction of meaning, rather than any set of 'fixed meanings'.

3: My copy of this paper is a manuscript and I shall refer to it as (1977) ms. to indicate that it was published in that year.

4: (1977) ms:2

5: See d'Ans (ms) on the Cashinahua and Townsley (1989) on the Yaminahua.

6: On the Aruã-speaking Kulina, see Adams and Townsend (1975); Adams (1962); Rüf (1972); Viveiros de Castro (1978); Silva (1983); Silva and Monserrat ((1984). Claire Lorrain is currently engaged in fieldwork with the Brazilian Kulina.

7: The nineteenth century. Lathrap (et al) (1985) argue that they reached the region no later than 1200 AD.

8: Spix and Martius, quoted in Tocantins (1979):105-7.

9: Chandless (1866); (1867); (1869).

10: See Rivet & Tastevin's map (1921); Métraux 1948.

11: Cardoso & Müller (1978).

12: See Bakx (1986); Weinstein (1983); Wagley (1976); Tocantins (1979); Dean (1987) for discussions of the rubber boom period.

13: Quoted in Tocantins (1979):147

14: "Este rio é um dos affluentes mais populosos do Purus, exporta hoje em goma elsatica 500.000 quilos...a sua população é de 10,000 almas, sem incluir os aborigenes que sobem ao duplo. O seu comércio é feito por meios de quinze grandes vapores, que durante a cheia fazem a navegção do rio, levando anualmente novos trabalhadores e mércadorias". Labre (1887).

15: Tocantins (1979).

16: Capistrano de Abreu (1941); (1976); Tastevin (1925); (1926).

17: Tastevin (1921):462; Tastevin & Rivet (1938):73-4; Adams & Townsend(1975)

18: Tastevin (1925):416;

19: Reich & Stegelmann; Aquino (1977):44.

20: Tastevin (1925). See also Capistrano de Abreu (1941):59-62.

21: Tocantins (1979); Bakx (1986).

22: See Euclides da Cunha in "*O Rio Purus*". He wrote: "Não ha em toda a extensão que vai de Santa Rosa às ultimas cabeceiras do Purus, uma unica casa de telhas. As vivendas de palha, construidas em dez dias, denuciam a existência instável da sociedade nômada que despoja a terra e vai-se embora. Caracteriza-a a inconstância irrequieta dos *infiéles* predominantes em maioria esmagadora. contam-se 5 peruanos, em geral loretanos, para' 100 piros, campas, amahuacas, conibos, sipivos, samas, coronuaás e jaminauas, ...já conquistados a tiros de rifle, já iludidos por extravagantes contratos, jungidos à mais completa escravidão." (da Cunha (1966):727).

23: Tastevin (1926):50.

24: See Tastevin (1926); also Aquino (1977).

25: Carvalho (1931) mentions these massacres. For a discussion see Ribeiro (1977) and Hemming (1987).

26: Throughout the thesis I translate the term *patrão* (feminine *patroa*) as boss. In this I follow regional usage, and also Cashinahua usage.

However, it should be noted that a "boss" is any person perceived as superior and more powerful, especially in terms of commercial transactions. Thus a river-trader will be addressed as boss, the manager of a rubber-estate who pays rent for it, a bookeeper in the estate, or the owner of the estate (seringalista). In the towns, any person in a position of authority is a boss. The term has special conotations of debt relationship, its concomitant being fregues, the person who is endebted. Aquino (1977) discusses in some detail the different kinds of "bosses" connected with the aviamento system during the twentieth century. He shows that it was not until after the collapse of the boom that owners of rights to rubber trees began to rent out their estates, or employ managers.

27: Tastevin (1920):136.

28: Wagley (1976):90-99.

29: See Bakx (1986) for an account.

30: 'Cariú' is the regional (Acreano) term for non-Indian. Cariú people are similar to the Nordestinos, varying in racial characteristics from fair, of Northern European descent, to black, of African descent. The majority show mixed ancestory and many show traces of indigenous American descent. Full-blooded indigenous people may be classified as Cariú if they betray no sign of affinity to indigenous culture.

31: Da Cunha (1906) described the seringal organization, which is essentially the same to this day. The headquarters (sede) is located besides the river. The boss's house and his storehouse (barracão) are the central buildings. Pastureland for a few cattle and sheep surround the buildings and at the edges of the field the houses of the workers and their wives are dotted. Some of these are tappers, others do specialized jobs. there might be a mechanic, an assistant to the manager, a mule-pack leader, a mateiro (who finds rubber trees in the forest and creates new paths or estradas) ad so on. The settlement is the social and economic hub of the seringal. the majority of tappers live in the interior (centro) in colocações (a term which is derived from the verb 'to place'). They are allocated these settlements by the manager, and must stay or leave as he sees fit. A colocação consists firstly of a number of estradas, looping paths leading through the forest connecting one rubber tree to another. The entrance and exit of the paths are located beside the tapper's house. One colocação may have up to 10 or 12 such paths, or as few as 1. A tapper working full-time needs 3 such paths. See Bakx (1986) for a detailed account.

32: Tastevin (1925); (1926); Cardoso & Müller (1978); Aquino (1977).

33: Tastevin (Ibid).

34: This mini-boom was financed by the USA. There was renewed migration from the Northeast and the migrants became known as the 'Soldiers of Rubber' (Soldados da Borracha). Many stayed on in Acre and married local women. The boom collapsed in the 1950s.

35: CEDEPLAR; see Bakx (1986) also.

36: Aquino (1977); Bakx (1986); Davis (1977); Ianni (1979):74-5; Scazzochio (1980) all discuss the effects of development on the Amazon Region.

37: Bakx (Ibid).

38: Aquino (1977).

39: Tastevin (1926).

40: Ibid.

41: Aquino (1977).

42: Ibid.

43: The term 'tribe' is in fact a poor description for the Cashinahua people.

44: The anthroplogist Terri Vale de Aquino initiated the fight for land rights and economic assistance in the mid-1970s, with a series of projects for the Jordão Cashinahua. He and others set up the CPI-AC (Commissão Pro-Índio do Acre) which developed into one of the main support groups for indigenous peoples rights. One of its most successful schemes is a literacy project (see Cabral (1987). CIMI-AC (Conselho Indigénista Missionaria - Acre) also works out of Rio Branco, and has been active in the Purus area. See Shapiro (1987a) for a history of CIMI, her view of its relation to the Catholic church and other references.

45: Under Brazilian law all "Indians" have a right to their own land. The legal process involves the "delimitation" of the territory on a map after investigation by FUNAI personnel. this must subsequentlt be ratified by presidental decree. The land is not legally a reserve until it has been "demarcated", that is when a path marking the boundary has been cut. Only a small percentage of reserves had been officially ratified and demarcated in Acre in 1985.

46: Siskind (1973); Adams (1975); Rivière and Lindgren (1972).

47: Townsley (p.c).

48: Schultz & Chiara (1955).

49: Ibid:196.

50: Kensinger (1975).

51: SIL stands for the Summer Insitute of Linguistics, a North American fundamentalist Baptist missionary organization which aims to translate the New Testament into every language. See Stoll (1982) and Hvalkof & Aaby (1981).

52: Stoll (1982):101.

53: The Cashinahua usually say that amongst themselves shamanism is extinct, but sometimes accuse each other privately of shamanic knowledge or activity.

54: By 1987 most of the inhabitants of Santa Vitoria had moved back to Recreio.

55: A person's comadre (female) or compadre (male) is either the godparent of his or her child, or the parent of his or her godchild.

56: The school at Fronteira was built by FUNAI, the National Indian Foundation, but at the time I left in 1985 the teacher was attached to MOBRAL, a national government literacy programme. She was the daughter of Mouro, the leader. She recieved a token salary and some supplies. The teacher at Recreio at this time had studied at a school in Peru for several years. His spoken Portuguese was bad, but improved after he went on a course in Rio Branco sponsored initially by the CPI and later taken up by FUNAI. He was to recieve a salary from the state education secretariat, like the other teachers in this programme.

57: The male Cashinahua population of the AIAP outnumbered the female by 7; but this figure obscures the very high incidence of male births in comparison to female, and the lower average age of death of men. Thus there were 53 boys and 44 girls under 5 in June 1985, whereas there were 18 men and 24 women over 40. This double discrepancy becomes even more striking if we look at the numbers of sexually active and elderly people (over 15): women outnumber men by 19 (99-80). Boys under 15 outnumber girls under 15 by 27 (124-97). D'Ans (1982):259-261) noted a similar phenomenon among the Cashinahua of Balta in 1974, and mentions that an excess of male over female births to this degree is not unusual in societies which have suffered from severe epidemics. His figures show that 35.2% of the population were boys were under 18, and 28% were girls; 16.1% were men over 18, and 19.7% women. This is similar to the AIAP pattern. The age-sex pyramid for Balta also shows a greater survival age for men among the elderly, as does the AIAP one. Those men who actually live to an older age seem to have longer lives than women.

These figures are important in that they show that there is no demographic basis for arguing that there is a shortage of women. The position is quite the contrary. Furthermore, by the time men are established as fully adult members of the community, they have a good chance of marrying a second wife. Women, on the other hand, are very likely to find themselves widowed by early middle-age and are not always able to find themselves another husband. Polygyny in this society does not create an artificial scarcity of women.

A comparison between the age-sex pyramids of the Recreio-Santa Vitoria and Fronteira groupings reveals both similarities and dissimilarities (see Figures 6 and 7). In Fronteira, boys under 16 outnumber girls by 17 (67-50); and so in Recreio-SV, where the ratio is 50-30. There are 14 fewer men over 15 in Fronteira than women (37-51); and similarily in

Recreio-SV (41-36). Differing epidemiological and socio-economic histories have not created significant differences in the demographic profile in this perspective. Such factors might however account for the fluctuations above the age of 15, particularily the sudden narrowing of the Recreio-SV pyramid above the age of 25, which contrasts with the more gradual diminishing in Fronteira's pyramid. Perhaps this scarcity of adults over 26 can be accounted for by the severe epidemic of 1951-1952, which wiped out 3/4s of the Cashinahua population of the Curanja (Kensinger(1975:11). The population now over 36 years old would have been affected, but their children (now below 20) had a better chance of survival due to improved healthcare as a result of the presence of the SIL missionaries. The majority of people in Fronteira, however, enjoyed no such sudden improvement or change in healthcare; hence the lack of dramatic changes in the top end of their pyramid.

58: In Recreio and Fronteira I recorded 5 marriages between actual MB and ZD.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1: See Appendix 1, M1(c).

2: See Crocker 1985.

3: "Tem que trabalhar muito, se não, custa pra crescer. Coisa - Homen que vai produzir, que tem vontade de fazer néné, ele bebeu caissuma. Tem que fazer depois que a mulher ficou doente, antes não da, não. Sim, tem mistura de sangue e porra. Tem que cuidar bem, não pode estragar a leite". (Isaias with Francisca of the Jordão).

4: See Kensinger (1973) and below in this chapter.

5: Some Cashinahua equate God (Deus) with the mythic figure Inca. See McCallum (in press).

6: See Gregor (1985).

7: "When a man has made his wife's belly large, he fasts for his child, and doesn't eat any kind of game unknowingly. The pregnant woman also fasts; she never eats armadillo, tapir, deer, capuchin monkey, spider monkey, curassow, or jacu. When she does eat she can eat nambu and agouti. She doesn't eat paca; just cujubim. When she eats fish she only eats piaba. She doesn't eat piraiba; surubim; curimatã; piau; tortoise; sting ray; electric eel; or caiman. But she can eat cascudinho and cangati. A pregnant woman fasts in this way; and her husband too". (Capistrano de Abreu 1941(1914):122-3)

"A pregnant woman does not eat armadillo. This animal is scaly, it makes a hole, and lives in it. They never eat it. She doesn't eat tapir, it's very big. the child would grow very big in the stomach, and would not be able to be born. The child would die inside the stomach, and the woman would die too. She never eats deer, its neck is long and thin and its eyes are big. She never eats capuchin monkey, because it handles its penis, and it lives high up. They never eat it. She doesn't eat spider monkey because it has a black body, and it has a big head. Nor curassow, nor jacu because it is "bearded". Its good to eat nambu because once it has laid its eggs it raises its young. Its also good to eat agouti, which raises its young. They never eat paca because it doesn't sleep at night. Cujubim is good to eat. Piaba fish is good. Piraiba is no good, the child would die in the stomach, and the woman would die. Also surubim - the child would not be born. The curimatã is not eaten because it is scaly. The ray is not eaten because it has a sting and its body is weak, floppy. The caiman is not eaten because it has eyebrows, and a soft body". (etc. includes; electric eel, small and large tortoise, crab, and shrimp). (Ibid:126-8)

8: Kensinger (1981):161 - Post partum taboos for men include strong meats- tapir, deer, peccary, and spider monkey of the same sex as the child. Parents may not eat sting ray even when child is a toddler.

9: Crocker (1985):67.

10: See next chapter.

11: Cf. Basso (1973).

12: Capistrano de Abreu 1941(1914):123-6.

13: These matters are discussed further below, in the section on 'baptism', and in chapter 3.

14: True Names in Recreio (*Kena Kuin*) (by moiety affiliation):

Banu	Dua	Inani	Inu
Idiumanani	Bexkiti	Chima	Sian
Bimi	Yavamapu	Kapedecha	Isaka
Tsain	Atsamiski	Xudibedu	Dase
Same	Iban	Nuniniyani	Dume kedu
Yaka	Sian	Uma	Kana
Dani	Bixku	Pada	Tuin
Pain	Xane	Buni	Kean
Mekani	Maya	Sain	Denteani
Yeke	Mudu	Nanke	Xane
Maxe	Tene	Chima	Kupi
Inkuani	Bane	Bimi	Mukadi
Maxi	Yave		Dasudi
Batani	Yavapetudu		Siani
Bina	Ixan		
Chida			
Sidiani			
Dani			

True Names in Fronteira (*Kena Kuin*) (by moiety affiliation

Banu	Dua	Inani	Inu
Maspan	Peana	Dani	Tuin
Maxi	Tuin	Nanke	Ninava
Chida	Mana	Chima	Iban
Padan	Besun	Yeke	Udi
Yanka	Xane	Same	Bainava
Bina	Bixku	Nete	Dase
Bunke	Yube	Yaka	Kean
Batani	Naxima	Ayani	
Dani	Madu	Idiki	
Samepada	Chean	Mekani	
Bimi	Kumaubu	Maspan	
Maduani	Bina		
	Kean		
	Iban		
	Tene		
	Ixan		

15: The synonyms for Chima, an Inani name: Kuma Bikuda, Kuma Bedu, Isa Chima, Isa Beduan, Xutadauti, Ava Chiduani, Inkaduani, Muxani, Isakudu. These names include references to the nambu bird, the porcupine, and the tapir.

16: See Townsley (1989). It seems that Ucayali Panoans like the Shipibo do not.

17: "Je me fis par la même occasion un certain nombre de *xuta* qui, les gamins surtout, se mirent à réclamer une attention préférentielle qu'ils n'avaient jamais solicitée jusqu'alors de ma part".(d'Ans ms:27)

18: I never heard adults insult each other by the use of true names; however young married couples sometimes invent mock true names as sexual jokes, and have verbal battles "insulting" each other. For example, one young woman never tired on informal occasions of calling her husband Stinky Tapir Penis, and when he replied with Huge Bat Vagina, both would roar with laughter and push at each other playfully.

19: Overing (1985).

20: Siskind (1973):50.

21: Ibid:54.

22: Kensinger described the Cashinahua "section system" as comprised of 4 "xutabu" (see Figure (1) in Chapter 1. (Kensinger (1984) (ms copy): "All Cashinahua are members of one of four marriage sections or alternating generation namesake groups, xutabaibu, i.e., they are all awabakebu, kanabakebu, yawabakebu, or dunubakebu". The first two sections, children of tapir and lightning respectively, are Inu, and the second two, children of peccary and snake, Dua. D'Ans (ms) and also Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982) argue that there are 8 sections, if gender differentiation is taken into account. I have no quarrel with the idea that there are 8 sections from a formal point-of-view. However the point does not seem very important. In my experience, people do not talk about named alternating generation namesake groups and I have no references to the *avabakebu, kanabakebu* and so on in my fieldnotes. One man did tell me that Banu women are peccaries and Inani tapir, which would fit partially with Kensinger's data.

23: For example, Ixan (M5); Bixku (M8); Nete (M6); Yube (M1) etc.

24: Cf. Montag, Montag & Torres (1975).

25: D'Ans (ms):27 (After he had received a name and therefore a kinship place): "La position parentale....ne découlait pas méchaniquement de la descendance ou de l'alliance. D'un jour à l'autre je n'étais pas devenu descendant de Cashinahua, ni l'époux d'une de leurs femmes, J'avais reçu un nom, c'est tout, et c'est cela qui m'assignait un lieu dans la construction familiale qui, chez les Cashinahua, est coextensive à l'univers social."

26: Human beings do not hear a celestial instruction to change skin. Those few terrestrial beings that hear correctly, such as snakes, remain immortal to this day.

27: Fiennup-Riordan (1983); Hugh-Jones C. (1979):133; Arhem (1981):74.

28 Cf. Townsley (1989) on the Yaminahua; Siskind (1973) on the Sharanahua.

29: Kensinger (1984), (1985). Also see Deshayes and Keifenheim.

30: See for a discussion of this concept R.M. Keesing (1975), Kin Groups and Social Structure, pp. 14-15 for example.

31: Overing Kaplan (1975) on the Piaroa; Basso (1973) on the Kalapalo.

32: Basso (Ibid).

33: Cf. Overing Kaplan (1977) on this point.

34: Kensinger discusses the use of these terms (*kuin*, *kayabi*, etc.) in relation to several "domains", such as kinship terminology, the production of manioc, and hunting (1975); and also in a study of Cashinahua notions of social time and space (1976 ms), from a componential analysis point-of-view.

35: Thus the conceptual opposition between 'kin' and 'affines' is treated in a similar fashion in both Piaroa and Cashinahua thought, such that an essentialist definition of who is or is not kin would not be applicable in either case.

36: D'Ans criticizes Kensinger's use of the term "*xutabu*" (class or people of the same name) as "namesake group" (d'Ans ms:29). Strictly speaking, some same-sex siblings are '*xuta*', that is persons with the same true name, and the rest are merely *betsa*. Cross-sex siblings are never *xuta*. The same point can be made of persons in alternate generations to ego. I never heard a group of people referred to as '*xutabu*'. For this reason the term 'namesake group' should be understood as a purely formal one. The Cashinahua never led me to believe that they conceived of such a group as a bounded unit.

37: Cf. N22 and N36 above.

38: A significant number of marriages in my census were contracted across generations (see Appendix 3). Such practice would perhaps make an ideology of sections (whether of 4 as in Kensinger or 8 as in d'Ans) hard to handle.

39: D'Ans disputes Kensinger's view on patrifiliation: "...la filiation cashinahua n'est pas patrilinéaire comme l'affirme Kensinger, mais parfaitement bilinéaire.." (ms:30).

40: See Chapter 4 for a description of village formation through such formal "calling", *kena*.

41: Kensinger (1985) on the sibling relationship.

42: Kin terms used in reference are nasalized when used as a vocative. This is represented in the orthography by the addition of an "*n*". Portuguese terms are not so nasalized.

43: A popular form of address to young girls before they are married is moça, also used by the Cariú and meaning literally girl or virgin. Mothers seem to use this more frequently than any other term. Little boys are addressed as rapazinho, "little fellow".

44: Ba, en ma juaii! Nane jayamen? Bive min ea keneidan.

45: D'Ans ms:27.

46: Kin reference terms are not changed upon marriage. they are simply avoided where possible.

47: See chapter 4 for a discussion of the political implications of moiety address terminology.

48: Capistrano de Abreu 1941(1914):100-112; Lindenberg Monte (1984):20 similarily describe *nixpo pima* as 'baptism.

49: Capistrano de Abreu 1941(914):108 (line 1036)

50: The language used ine these songs is an esoteric one, and since I have made no special study of it, I cannot make complete translations. I am able, however, to present the gist of what is meant.

51: Sp. cordoncillo.

52: In Abreu's description, it appears that only boys have their nasal septums pierced. However, middle-aged men and women of my acquaintance had had theirs pierced.

53: *Pakadin* is a kind of chant. Most dances are named after the kind of song to which they are performed.

54: See above, Section (1), for example.

55: SONG 3 (tape 3)
Eiiyeiyei, tapunkitapunki, tapunki iii
xeki juantapunki ii
tapunki sede xu eee
juniinun xeki dau eee
inuvan xeki dau eee
xeki jua en mextea eee
xanvan dua inka eee
xeki ea aki iii
ea akikaii iii
Chana dua inka aeee
Janu bukavani xu eee
xeki jua mextea eee
Ena madi pekenu ee

Ee akikaii iiii aaaaa
tupunkitupunki aaaa
tunpunki xedexun eaa
juninun xekidan
etc

56: SONG 6 (Tape 3)
Juaii, juaii. Juaii, juaii
Chana inu. Inu bene. Inu navan duabu, dua kakaibubu, Duabu, Duabu.
Buni inanven eee; buni inanve eee

(speaking) *itan, bunima; "Chanaduan Inu bunima":*

ma xaxuvan tunkube
paketimavaki eiii
Inka bai bixaii eii
Dua chaxkibi eii
yuxin navan tsanu
Tsanu navan Dua bu
Dua akaikubu
Duabu, Duabu
Buni inanve
etc.

57: See d'Ans (1975):137-139; Kensinger (ms2); and McCallum (in press).

58: *Yuxin navan tsanu inu bunimani. Ja axun, Chana dua Inu bunimaxun, yuxin nava tsanu Inu bunimaxun, Isan jana Inu bunimaxun, Duasanu Inu bunimaxun, Jidixanu Inu bunimaxun, januxun, jabe sin debu, unudi ichapaki !* Tape 3

59: See the following subsection.

60: See McCallum (in press).

61: See above, Section (1).

62: Cashinahua teeth are remarkably hard and white. They contrast completely with Cariú teeth, which normally fall out by the time a person reaches her or his mid 20s. I do not know how effective *nixpo* is as a means of protecting teeth. The Cashinahua diet is far more varied than the Cariú.

63: I must thank Peter Gow for pointing this out to me.

64: Montag, Montag & Torres (1975).

65: Cashinahua endocannibalism is discussed by Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982):246-9; Tastevin (1925):34; Carvalho (1931):227, 254; Abreu's informants did not mention endocannibalism, though one suggests that the dead were either burned or buried. Dole (1974) discusses Amahuaca endocannibalism and surveys the sources on other groups in Amazonia, especially Panoans. Clastres (1974) discusses Guayaki endocannibalism, and Viveiros de Castro (1986) Araweté.

66: The following is the account Pudicho Torres gave Richard and Susan Montag: "The bones were burnt along with the remains of the firewood. After this the chantleader grouped them to dance *pakadin* again. The little children were made to dance too (?). Then the chantleader sang 'Shrimp keep his spirit; Carachama fish keep his spirit; Crab keep his spirit', whilst the bones of the Nawa, of the powerful man, of the sky man, of the jaguar, of the *jidiama* (Ancestral giant), of the Nawa were burning beside a hardwood tree. When this was over - thus making his name disassociate from him - doing *pakadin* - his hunting path covered in scrub, his urine and faeces disintegrated, his village (garden) disassociated. All of this done, they said to his 'eagle' (spirit) 'You are going.... When you meet the Inca, go with him. Go with the old ones. Do not come back here'. " (Montag, Montag & Torres (1975); my shortened translation).

67: Kensinger (1981) says that the Cashinahua concieve of a human as composed of 5 spirits or *yuxin*: the *nama yuxin*, *yuda yuxin*, *pui yuxin*, *isun yuxin*, *bedu yuxin*. Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982:242) count 4 body spirits, the *nama*, *yura bake*, *isun*, *pui*, and one "true spirit", *yuxin kuin*.

68: I was told this by Cashinahua Baptists. There is a 'good' soul and a 'bad' soul (which might cause a person to be bad-tempered and to sin). There is a 'thief soul', a 'weakness soul' and so on.

69: See Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982) for an excellent account of the power of body souls.

70: Townsley (1989).

71: Aquino (1977).

72: M6.

73: M10.

74: See Dwyer (1975) on Cashinahua weaving.

75: Gebhart-Sayer (1984:7) encounterd a similar story among the Shipibo.

76: *je* is an onomatapeic word referring to the long drawn out sound that the women sing at the end of each line of this form of song. I have omitted the morpheme for reasons of space.

77: Kensinger (1975) and Dawson (same vol.) discuss Cashinahua ceramics.

78: See below, chapter 3, for a discussion of the symbolism of this snake and associated myth.

79: Abreu (1914): 115-136.

80: Kensinger (in press).

81: I discuss the Gê in the Introduction.

82: Gregor (1977).

83: See Stoll (1982) and McCallum (ms1).

84: Kensinger (in press).

85: I discuss this in Chapter 3.

86: The root is called *dade*. I was unable to identify it.

87: See Kensinger (1973). There is an excellent film by Deshayes and Keifenheim on the subject.

88: Kensinger (1981):170.

89: Abreu (1914):160 on shamanic initiation spells this danger out.

90: Kensinger (1981) reports this.

91: I was invited to take the drug during my trip to the Jordão, but refused since Cashinahua women rarely take it and if they do so only discretely.

92: Aquino (p.c.). Siskind (1973) describes Sharanahua *nixi pae* taking as follows: First the men sit quietly chanting or smoking, on logs arranged in a triangle. Most of them hold long poles that in the past were painted red. when the drug begins to take effeect they see brightly-coloured scrolls like facepaint designs, and the chanting grows stronger, whilst the shaman begins to call to the spirits. Snakes come and wind around. Each experienced man sings his own song, and one, the shaman, signals the arrival of the spirits with "the lake is coming, the spirits are coming". Younger men would only see snakes and not spirits without this help. The spirits are like beautiful women, painted and dressed in yellow feather headresses. The men lean on their poles through the night, as many spirits, transforming and changing, fill the village.

Men see outsider women like Kulina or Mastanahua and one man told Siskind that taking the drug was "like sex" (1973): 146. She continues "At times Casha sings the song of the launch and brings visions of Peruvian spirits, travelling up the Purus in a large boat filled with things: pots and beads, shells, guns, tobacco, cloth, suitcases, and cachasa" (Ibid:147). Visions of Peruvians and Peruvian things were frequent for many of the Sharanahua men. Siskind (1973a) describes the use of planes and trade goods in curing songs, as does Townsley (1989) for the Yaminahua.

93: Kensinger (1973).

94: Siskind (1973a) and Townsley (1989) and (nd).

95: I intend to pubish an analysis of Cashinahua death and dying at a future date.

96: Men may study in modern schools, which girls leave when they first become pregnant. Women should concentrate on *kene kuin* (real design) in weaving whilst men learn to write - also termed '*kene*'. Men use written and spoken spanish or Portuguese in their dealings with the outside world. Ideally women should not have to engage in such contact.

97: Probably from the term '*pae*' which means 'strong' as in *nixi pae*, 'strong vine' (ie ayahuasca); it is also the term for 'a cold' as in *pae teneikiki*, 's/he is suffering from a cold'.

98: It is possible to reinterpret the Tapir myth analysed by Siskind (1973):138-141) from this point-of-view. A woman's husband kills her tapir lover, thus separating the human from the animal domain via his male agency. The separation had been threatened by sex, which on repetition leads to kinship and proximity.

99: See Appendix 3.

100: The other case that I recorded on the Purus was between the only sister of the Domingo brothers and a Cariú man who left her in 1984. Elsewhere, for example on the Énvira, such mixed marriages are more common.

101: Cf. McCallum (ms2).

102: Kensinger (1984) stresses the strength of feeling concerning 'correct' or good (*pe*) marriages.

103: Cashinahua Tape 19, National Sound Archive.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1: Descola (1986):11 writes that 'symbolic morphologists' (such as Lévi-Strauss presumably) consider nature as "la matière priviligiée à partir de laquelle prend son envol l'imagination taxinomique et cosmologique des peuples de la forêt". For them, the principle interest is to study the internal organization of systems of representation. Like the 'ecological reductionists' (who take their inspiration from the 'cultural ecology' approach) they give a subordinate role to practice. The former are interested only in productions of the spirit, the latter see practice in terms of adaptation and gives it no significant autonomy. Descola discusses the work of 'ecological reductionists' in some detail. See for example Steward (1948); B.Meggers Amazonia: a Counterfeit Paradise (1971); ; Carneiro (1961); Siskind (1973) and in particular (1973b).

2: Ibid:12.

3: Gow (in press b) also discusses economic organization and the dynamics of gender practice.

4: Gow uses a notion of 'subsistence economy' derived from the work of students of Arctic peoples that rejects an absolute opposition between the subsistence sphere, and other domains such as ritual or commodity production. Fienup-Riordan, in her book on the Nelson Island Eskimo, writes: "It is possible but altogether inappropriate to reduce subsistence activities to mere survival techniques and their significance to the conquest of calories. Their pursuit is not simply a means to an end, but an end in itself". (Fienup-Riordan (1983):xix-xx). Both ritual exchange and "subsistence activities", she goes on to argue, are meaningful activities, and should be treated as part of the total system of ideas and meanings in action in the world: "Strict ritual analysis would be as off-balance as an emphasis on the subsistence cycle with ritual as an appendage" (Ibid:65). I would agree with these comments.

5: I discuss 'brideservice analyses' in the Introduction.

6: Many Cashinahua who have come under the influence of SIL missionaries, who condemned these practices as diabolical, equating the serpent directly with Satan, are reluctant to talk about them. Other groups in the region who use the boa in this way are the Sharanahua (Siskind 1973a); the Amahuaca (Carneiro 1974). I was also told that an apprentice *chana xanen ibu* must eat the tongue of a boa constrictor.

7: Boas eat rats, peccary and deer, I was told.

8: Tape transcript, Interview with Elias, Recreio 1985 (The interviewer's questions are in italics):
"Yuinaka tsakakinan nukun xenipabubu, yuinaka tsakakatsidan, mimankin tae vapaunibuki. Dunu vapaunibuki, yubexenidan, yuinaka tsaskakatsidan. Yubexeni detexun, samakekin, ja samakekin, tadi ixun, uxaxini, penaya kaxun, samakekin yuinaka tsakapaunibuki. Yuinaka tsakakin yavadan, yava tsakaxun, bexun, ja javen ain inun javen bakebu piaya, javen ibubu piaya, dayabaixinxun, dayabaixinxun, daya tres diaxun, ana kaxun, chaxua

tsakapaunibukiaki, menkikinan jaska vakin atiki , nukun xenipabu menkidan, jaska vaxun apaunibukiaki. Chaxu tsakaxun, bexun, pikin. Ava tsakakin inun yaix tsakakin, yaix payaxun, dedaxun, bekin. Ava tsakakinan menkidan, maedun dunu menki bima, menkidan jaskai ipaunibuki. Menkisamadan, dayakapaidan, yubexeni mea dunu metan mananana, dunu metan ipaunibuki.Yubedan, dunudan, javen dekeya vakinan, dunu vaka ipaunibuki. Pimakinan, javen epa inun javen kuka ama jatu amaidakimaki, pimakinan. En ibuan ea maeamaniki, en ibuan ea maeamaniki, un mes ea nichinmaniki.

Yubexenipitan, min samakepaunimenkain? En samakeniki! *Samakeni java apaunimenkain?*

Samakexunan unpax akin tae vakinan, nixi juxe atiki, nixi juxe apaunibuki, ni medan anuadan, nixpuduntiunan. Unanunma jivekatsidan. Ni medan jayaki, nixpuduntianan, evapadan, unpaxan, unpax pedan, unudi mextexun, unudi mextexun. Unpax adiama akin tae vakinan ja apaunibuki kiaki. Jivea ikibi ikabi ikatsi ikaidan, ja apaunibuki, nixi juxedan. Dunu metanan. Samakeimaxun, pimaxunan, ja ati ki nixi juxedan, unpax akin tae vakinan. Jaska imaixun javen deke tsekeaimaxun, ja atiki, pikinan., javen dekeyaiimaxun, jaska vaxun, apaunibuki. Ja piaya kamaisbuamadan, yavadan, chaxudan, isudan, yaixan, jasinan, kumadan, xavedan, avadan, juni dekeyaijaidaidan, jaskai ipaunibuki, nukun xenipabudan, nukun xenipabu inun nukun nabudan jaskakubaunabuki.

Dayakapai, jabiaudi iti ki, mimantanan yuinaka tsakabainxinxun, min dayaii, dayaxun, baivaxun, kuaxun, banakin tae vakin, mani banatiki, mani banaxun, ja kachudi, atsa banatiki; atsa banaxun, takuxtiki chaka medanua, yunu bitmaki. Chaka medanua min yunu biadan, dunu piananan imiski, chaka medanua yunu bitimaki. Jaska vatiki. Nukun xenipabu jaskakunbaunabuki, dayaidan.

Samakei nukun jive anu itiki. Samakeidan, dayai ikatiki. Dayatiki. *Inun yuinaka tsaka?* Dayabaixinxun, kaxun, yuinaka tsakatantiki. Ja nukun nabu pinunan.

Namidan piutimaki. Un mes itiki, samakeidan. Un mes samakexun, pikin, tae vakinan, dunu xeakinan, maka amiski, maka kamiski. Maka akatsikama, yuinaka evapa, chaxu inun yava atiki.

Maka dunu xeamiski. Yava inun chaxu dunudi xeamiski. Dunu xeakinan, yvadan, javen bai kexaxun, amiski, dunu yava bixun xeakinan.Chaxudi jabiaskadi amiski, javen bai kexun, chaxu jui bixun, xeadiamiski, dunu xeakinan. Jaskaken, jabu atiki min dunu akimaxun, samakexun, pikinan.

Dunuvan dekeyaki. dunu dekeya inun jabiaundi min daya. Daya, min dayakapaii. Dunu meima min javen daya tsekeaii, dayakapaidan. Jabiaundi, min dekeyaii, menkidan. Jaska kubaunabuki nukun xenibudan nukun xenipabu jaska kubaunabuki. Ma jabiaski daun Diusun jatu yununi, Diusun jatu yununi.."Jaa mimamtan javen dayakapa keaxaninun. Ja mimantan javen yuinaka tsakai dekeyapakexan ikai" yunana, jatu yununi, akubaunabuki, nukun xenipabu mimanxun yuinaka tsakakinan. Jaska vaxun, pikubaunabuki.

Janua, samakei pixta apaunibumenkain?

Ipaunibuki! Aka evadan, un mes nichinmaki. Aka, evadan, 4 dia inun 3 dia maxkitan, yuinaka pitiki. Maxkitan? mapudan. Mapu bixun, naxi, maxkixun, daevenan mexkutan uxaxini bestenkean pipaunibukikiaki. Yuinakadan.

9: I would question Deshayes' (1986) characterization of the Cashinahua as primarily a people obsessed with hunting and uninterested in horticulture except for survival purposes. He says (Ibid:8)(my translation):"The Huni Kuin conceive of themselves as a village of hunters. And this is undeniable, as much on the economic level as on the ideological... Although agriculture provides an important and continuous supply of foods, it does not enjoy the same prestige". Deshayes qualifies meat as the 'prestige food *par excellence*'. Hunting is undoubtedly more important (in comparison to fishing) for the people of Balta (amongst whom Deshayes worked) than it is for the people of Recreio and Fronteira. Kensinger (1975) also emphasizes the importance of meat. When Cashinahua live close to good sources of fish, they make use of them. Vegetable food is very important in any Cashinahua community, symbolically as well as nutritionally.

10: *Chana* (the oropendola) is a black and yellow bird that nests near settlements and has a particularily loud call (japim or paucar (Sp.)). I discuss leadership in chapter 4.

11: Junibu piayadan piyuama penama kayupaunibuki. Piyama penaya bestenkean piaya kaxun, java piyama kaxun yuinaka tsakatanxunan . Yavadan, yaixan, chaxudan, jasinan, isudan, dudan, yuinaka, ava tsakaxun jadibi baxitan bexun, januxun mabex inun mani mutsa atsa jua mani jua jati pitixitiki piaya katankinan bunitankinan. Jaskatani jua nukun mesti pitimaki. Kenanamexun pitiki. Kenanamexunan, nukun juchi kenakinan, nukun kuka kenakinan, nukun epa kenakinan, nukun chai kenakinan. Kenaname sai iki:

"Jeeeiii! Pinun bukanven! Pinun bukanven! Jaskanun bukanven! Jeeii!"

Jaskai min xanen ibu tidukiaki. Piavenan xanen ibuidan. Jakia juni yauxi, min mesti min piadan, xanen ibutidumakikiaki. Pimanamei min xanen ibutidukiaki. Nukun xenibu javen ipaunibuki, xanen ibuidan. Jaskai kubaunabuki. Javen xanen ibu menkidi ipauniki, menkidan. Deveyadan. Deveya chana xanen ibu ipaunibuki. Deveuma jabiaskidi ipaunibuki, xanen ibudidan. Pimananan.."Bukanven, nudi bukanven" ini ika, unu chai buaibu chai buaibu, unu nantakea bai nuku anu pai buaibu pes pes istimaki. "Ai chu! Mena! Nudi budikanven! Ai chu ea buxunkanimenkain" ika benimankean jatu ixun nukun ain jati yunukin: "Mena! Nukun ja juxuki! Mena jatu piti inanve! Atsa jatu inanxun, mani jatu inanxun, yuinaka jatu inanxun, jatube banakin, jatube janchakin, pitiki. Jaskapaunibuki, nukun nabudan, nukun xenipabudan. Xanen ibu anudan, mae bestichaianudan dabe inun tres ipaunibukikiaki. nukun xenipabu manananuadan. Na deveya chana xanen ibuki; na deveuma dayakapa menki xanen ibu ipaunibuki nemakananan.

Xanen ibu kayadan?

Jaa, xanen ibu kayadan, Jaska ipaunibuki, nukun xenipabudan, mananananudan. Juni besti xanen ibuamadan. Ainbudikabi xanen ibu ipaunibuki. Nenua, bake debuanua tsuan xanen ibudiamaki, ainbudan. Jayamaki. Junibus xanen ibumisbuki. Nukun xenipabu manananananuadan, jatun bene xanen ibu inun jatun ainbu, jatun ain xanen ibupaunibuki, piti bimanameidan.

"Piti binun bukanven! Ichun! Tsaben! Yayan! Evan! Chipin! Piti binunkave! Nukun bene chai kaki piti biyununbukanven!"

Ika, kaxun piti bitanxun, bavapaunibuki. Penayadi kenanamexundi pipaunibukiaki, nukun xenipabudan, jaska kunbaunabukiaki.

12: After I wrote this section, I paid a short return visit to Recreio. Several women leaders, including the male leader's mother-in-law, were organizing female labour, and in particular the production of cotton goods. Each morning they would call out across the village for the women to awake and start work. One of their houses was used as a weaving and spinning centre.

13: As far as I know, Rivière (1969) was the first to use this opposition for the Trio. Townsley also makes use of 'inside-outside' for the Yaminahua.

14: Elsewhere other anthroplogists have noted differences of opinion between individuals over such matters; such variation is a hallmark of Lowland American thought. For example, Leeds (1973) remarks on variation in individual Yaruro cosmologies. Descola (1986:116) discussing Achuar theories of metempsychosis, says that beliefs vary considerably from person to person.

15: The creation of the present world, as recounted in myth, is now complete. Various living beings in this world are the products of this history - the animals and birds of the forest, and fish of the lakes, streams and rivers. The trees, vines, and plants also have their origin in mythic time, and a history which explains their differentiation from humanity. Animals, fish, vegetation, all essential to the production of the human world and are constantly transformed for this purpose. Vegetation, more than anything else, stands for the cyclical regeneration of the 'inside' that I described in terms of the passing on of true names (above see chapter 2).

16: D'Ans (1975):10 mentions this belief. The relevent myth is given (ibid):93. See also Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982).

17: One person asked me whether the sky really became earth in Ceara, (where most Cariú are thought to have originated), which is believed to be located way downriver. The river itself is said to join up with the "great river" (*jenevan*) equated with the ocean. One man told me, when I inquired about some aspect of "ancestor knowledge", that the old ones talked a lot of rubbish (muito besteira).

18: See Overing Kaplan (1977) for example.

19: Gow points out that houses are made of dead trees, villages out of the forest, tools and artefacts out of plants, and that this fact is important to native Amazonians. Overing (see e.g. (1982), (1983/4) and (1986)) shows how for the Piaroa, the 'forces of culture' are obtained outside of human society, from the Gods. Overing argues against the use of the nature/culture opposition, or humanity/animality, which she sees as misleading. She goes on to assert that the important contrast is between 'domesticated' and 'undomesticated', or "the untamed forces of culture and tamed forces of culture within society"(1982:3).

20: Capistrano de Abreu (1914):413-420 describes a story of a visit by a Cashinahua man to the afterworld. A man drank a hallucinogen and in a state of intoxification ran into the forest where he climbed int a sumauma tree. Here he had a number of adventures with the spirits who lived in the tree, before being taken to see the village of his dead relations. He was treated royally, fed and pampered. He saw everything, including the wild animals that the dead keep as pets, including fierce dogs, red macaws, jaguars, scorpions, and snakes (Ibid:4732-3)

21: The Cashinahua, in common with other forest peoples, have a detailed knowledge of botany and zoology and can describe the habits or peculiarities of a huge number of plant and animal species. The animal species in particular are described as social groups. Descola (1986) says that the Achuar describe animals as leading social lives akin to humans; this allows them to describe the full complexity of nature. He attacks the notion that such "anthropomorphisation" should be interpreted as a metaphoric code. The Achuar, he says, really do believe that each natural species has a singular personality which distinguishes it from both humans and other species (Ibid:100). Heterogeneity is the underlying unity of nature, not a dualistic division which opposes nature to culture, or to the supernatural. The beings of nature are simply more or less like humans and only humans are complete persons because external form is integrated to essence. Every being had human form in mythic time. They lost human form and with it language but not the "life of consciousness" (accessible to humans through dreams) or a sociality ("sociabilite") similar to human sociality (Ibid:120).

22: Human = *juni* or gente; Animal = *yuinaka* (game), *ina* (domesticated animals), *baka* (fish) and various other creatures which do not fall into these categories. The idea of animal is summed up better in Portuguese bicho. Spirit = *yuxin* or alma; Demon = *yuxibu* or encantado or alma. Plants = mato or *ni*, literally forest. This last term in verbal form means to walk or to stand, be upright.

23: Roe (1982:114-117) discusses Shipibo spirits and the dead. He quotes Burgas Freitas (1939:196) who said that they considered all *yuxin* as the spirits of the dead, especially of shamans and sorcerers.

24: In ritual language the terms 'nawa' and 'yuxin' are sometimes used interchangeably (see Montag et al).

25: Capistrano de Abreu includes a story about the *yuxibu* (1914):421 424. The *yuxibu* have their own pet animals. In Capistrano de Abreu, these are jaguars, red macaws, fierce dogs, cocks, spider monkeys, and caiman. The Cariú terms encantado and alma are used to translate *yuxibu*. Among them are mythic figures such as Great Caiman (*Kapetanvan*); Great Snake (*Dunuvan*); the spirits of big trees (*Ji Yuxibu*); Jaguar (*Mananpuinti*) and fantastic monsters of the river and lakes. I heard of one such demon that reared its head from it whirlpool home one evening at dusk as a man was passing by. It had the body of a snake and a human head with glowing red eyes. Red Macaw is reputed to be a demon - the first *yuxibu* of the forest I was told. Other animals are also termed demons: the great owl (*pupuvan* or caburai); the harpy eagle; and the ***budextuin*** bird (cotton bird), which is said to weave the hammocks of the dead from cotton stolen from the bushes of the living.

26: Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982):200.

27: The Cashinahua do not have a strongly developed category of "Masters of the animals", unlike other Amazonian peoples. I was unable to elicit direct descriptions of such beings, and they do not arise in everyday conversation as far as I could tell. Nevertheless, the closely related Yaminahua believe that each species has its own leader or 'Roa' (in Cashinahua 'Dua'). Townsley (1989) says "Most classes of animals ... are said to have a Roa who is the perfect exemplar of that class and to whom all other members are observed to defer and give way. thus, of the class of vultures.. the Roa is the king vulture (ishmi) who has the most beautiful colouring, flies the highest, and to whom all other vultures defer at a feeding site." The Roa of the eagles is the harpy eagle; of the butterflies a small very beautiful butterfly; of human beings the village leader. The concept Roa, like that of Dua, denotes something which is large, lightly coloured or shining, incandescent, and perfect in itself. In Cashinahua ritual language there are many references to Dua beings, especially those allied to the Inca. For example, Inkan Chaxu Dua, or by another name Nainbu, whom I was told is "gente" or human. (Also see previous chapter on *nixpo pima*). In myth, we find stories which would corroborate the suggestion that each species had its leader in mythic time. Thus in one story the leader of the vultures is Ixmin (just as for the Yaminahua) and his nickname is *javendua*, which may be translated either as 'beautiful' or as 'their Dua'. However, these beings are not as far as I know invoked during hunting magic, and are not involved in a man's personal relationship of predation with game animals and fish.

28: Capistrano de Abreu tells the story of a shaman who, hungry for meat, called the peccaries to the village, deceiving them with false promises of hospitality. Many were killed, and he received his portion of meat. But he choked on the piece and nearly died (1914):409.

29: I discuss this in chapter 5.

30: Kensinger (in press) writes about this. See also Descola (1986) for a discussion of seduction in hunting.

31: Men manufacture many items: a variety of wooden implements and objects, such as bows, spindle shafts, weaving implements, rocker mills, stools, ax handles, and occasionally canoes. Most men know how to use bows and arrows, and many boys have learnt from elder men, though except in Peru these are rarely used. In Fronteira on the other hand very few men understand archery. Feather headresses or *maiti* are made by men; scraped bamboo crowns, *paka maiti,* are made more often; and where *Kachanawa* ritual is practised, palm-leaf half-skirts, veils, and other decorations. Men use cotton yarn to make small fishing scoop nets (*jisin*), and bought nylon thread to make Cariú style fishing nets or tarafas.

32: This can be made by either a man or a woman, either of a Cariu design, requiring finely split firewood, or simply a large clay platform upon which an old fashioned fire is laid. Women make their fires on the ground beside a new house, or if it is only half-floored, they turn the unfinished section into a kitchen area.

33: I only witnessed one burning, which was carried out unceremoniously by one man and his younger brother, but Kensinger (1975:32) reports that all the men and women go to a major burning. The women stand apart at a safe distance and sing "to the spirits" whilst the men, painted in red urucu, hooting and shouting, set fire to the dried out trees and undergrowth.

34: I never witnessed a planting session. Kensinger reports that a man plants alone or with his wife (1975:32)]. Cashinahua women have particularily little responsibility for the garden in comparison to other Amazonian women. The hardest workers at horticultural tasks are the Achuar and Jivaroan women, who are in charge of maintenance and weeding (see Descola 1986).

35: It is a Cariú ideal, held by some Cashinahua, that a tapper should work 6 days a week, and rest on Sundays. Quantities of raw rubber produced are frequently discussesd, and a good tapper, I was told, ought to be able to make a ton of rubber per season. See Bakx (1986).

36: This is what Kensinger has to say about hunting: "Ideally each adult male has a hunting territory over which he has total exploitative control but not ownership. All territory surrounding a village is owned by two extended families: one owns the upstream area, the other owns the area downstream. These are divided into gardening areas exploited by individual nuclear or compound families. Radiating beyond these garden areas are the hunting territories of individual males. A man may also hunt in the territory of his father or father-in-law but at least half of his catch must go to the "owner". Each man's territory ideally contains a variety of ecological niches with their varied flora and fauna, so that he has the full spectrum of exploitative options open to him, that is, all kinds of animals and wild plants, hills, valleys, streams, etc" (1975:25-27).

Kensinger says that hunting is a solitary activity on the whole, but that sometimes a man leaves with his brother, son, or parallel cousin. The group breaks up whilst hunting except when one man signals to the other that he has come across a herd of peccary or a band of spider monkeys. The hunters remain on clearly marked paths which they have cleared over the years; or if they are in a new settlement, they use tapir trails and streams. They only leave the set routes when they are in hot pursuit or they hear an animal nearby, or are called to by a man across the ridge or valley. If a man should come across a large band of white-lipped or collared peccary, *yava kuin* and *junu yava* respectively, or wound a tapir, and he is close to the village, he runs back to fetch all available men. He says: "It is only on such occasions that partnership or group hunting takes place. Even in the large hunts connected with *eskaitubiawe*, the ceremonial food exchange which occurs during periods of short food supply when large groups of men leave the village together and then share the catch before returning, each man hunts alone" (Ibid). He goes on to say that short hunts take place during the afternoon, when the hunter sets out, often to a blind to shoot birds or other animals feeding off fruit, or takes a dog with him to root out paca and other rodents, or to find an armadillo which he can smoke out of its hole.

Much of what Kensinger says still appears to hold true today. However, I could never get anyone to describe hunting territories to me in the way that he outlines and I was left with the impression that the division of area is not so clearcut. Men go around their estradas on quick hunts, or carry their shotguns whilst collecting rubber in the morning and there is a preference for going along one's own estrada. However, there is nothing stopping people going off on someone else's and I never heard of a dispute about invasion of hunting territories. Deshayes also reports that Cashinahua men have hunting territories.

The division of lands for the making of gardens was not so clearcut either, and the "two main extended families" of Recreio had their main gardens on one site, divided down the middle. In those areas like the Jordâo where settlements are smaller and more scattered, short hunts naturally take place along the estradas. But a proper all-day hunting session means a journey to the edges of the territory, where large game is more easily found. Such a trip, which takes up to six hours, involves passing through the "territory" of several hunters. Unless a successful hunter passes through their settlement on the way back and is related closely enough to the residents to be obliged to give if they see the catch, he will give them nothing.

It would be interesting to know why the Cashinahua at the time Kensinger stayed with them only left for hunts with their own moiety members except on ceremonial/collective hunts. I have notes of men hunting with their MB *kuka*, and also with their closest brother-in-law, their *chais*.

Although the forms of hunting described by Kensinger, the short and the day hunt, are the most common, there are several other forms of hunting which are extremely important. From time to time men will organize a hunt which takes them far from their settlements and will mean that they sleep several nights in the forest. This is called *uxa*, also meaning sleep. In the past *uxa* hunts took up to 10 days, but I never observed anyone stay away longer than a week, and this only if they were involved in felling caucho at the same time. Such an expedition is typically undertaken before the Kachanawa Increase ritual and the hunters usually bring back a surplus of meat which they can exchange during the initial stages of the ceremony. They go in twos and threes and in the longer established settlement there are paths leading to the uninhabited interior of the forest where past expeditions have built tapiri (shelters), solidly constructed in this case, capable of providing shelter during several years. Sometimes a young boy goes along. He is expected to tend the fire and the smoking meat; but often women go too and are responsible for the camp. If the hunting is to be combined with fishing, then the women might participate in this latter activity.

During the summer months sometimes up to half the people of a settlement in the Purus area at least can be on a several night hunting and fishing expedition. On journeys along the rivers, both here and in the Tarauacá region, the pace of the travelling is often dictated by hunting and fishing along the way, especially if the travellers are poling their canoes rather than using an outboard motor. Camps are made beside a lake for up to a week; the only limitations are the amount of farinha or green bananas the camp has, since a meal requires a vegetable component.

If hunters wish to kill a tapir, they will invariably spend up to 3 nights away, as Kensinger describes, and at least 3 men are required to carry the kill. Men often leave the settlement saying that they are going after a particular kind of animal, typically a deer, a peccary, or a howler monkey. If they are unsuccessful, on the way home they will kill whatever smaller game they come across. It seems that certain kinds of game are not touched, if the hunter does not regard them as "real food", or because he and his wife are observing dietary restrictions.

37: See Kensinger (in press) on this. Also Gow (1987) on hunting and gardening.

38: This task is usually performed by men in the forest, and women in the settlement. It was the only form of preserving flesh before the arrival of salt. Salt is also used nowadays, especially for preserving fish and caiman.

39: Young boys from about 6 or 7 years start fishing with hook and line, catching small fish at the port close to the village. Adult men sometimes also fish with this method, using larger hooks and stronger line; but from about 10 years on they turn increasingly to cast-net fishing for individual expeditions. The nets are made with nylon line and lead in the Cariú fashion. They are used at the mouths of streams, off the beach in the dry season, or in those lakes that are relatively free of snares. This form of fishing is generally done in the early morning or the late afternoon when men have returned from the main work of the day, or if they wake up to nothing for breakfast. Groups of young men sometimes make an all day fishing trip to the lakes, especially if these are far away from the village, in the hope of returning with a large catch. Those lucky few who live beside a lake need spend much less time fishing.

40: See Appendix 5.

41: Thus, unlike the Aché (see Clastres 1977), there is no reason why men and women may not touch or use each others' things, such as the shotgun, or the basket. The only prohibition I encountered was the handling of clay by men. On one occasion a woman reprimanded a group of young boys for playing with clay. Menstruating women are also discouraged from touching clay.

42: *Puikama* is a leafy bush, (paullinnia pinnata), used to temporarily suffocate fish in still pools and shallow streams (in Sp.huaca; Port.timbó). The following is an account of fishing with this leaf written by a Cashinahua, Norberto Sales: "First of all we invite lots of people and then we begin to collect the puikama leaves. When we have finished collecting, we get a pounding pole, dig the ground to make a hole and put the puikama leaves there. we pound it and take out the balls of puikama. 15 Or 20 balls. When finished pounding, we take our companions, a whole lot of people, each one carries a machete and an arrow. When we get to the pool of the stream, we dissolve the ball of puikama in the water. Then, in two minutes, the fish begin to jump and we get in there with machetes. When we finish catching fish, we go home. Arriving at home, we give to the woman /wife to cook" (CPI 1985). This style of fishing appears to have changed little in the past 100 years, going by the description in Capistrano de Abreu (1914):71-2.

43: Farinha (toasted manioc flour) is made out of the larger and coarser sweet manioc roots. These are grated in a petrol-powered machine, squeezed in a press, and toasted on a large metal forno. Tubers may also be soaked for several days, thus dispensing with the need for grating. In the past women made their own farinha on flat clay griddles, but only very occasionally as far as I can gather. Farinha is the staple food of the Cariú. Cashinahua men use it on journeys and extended hunting or boundary demarcation trips into the interior.

44: I discuss the Cashinahua concept of working 'on behalf of' someone below.

45: In the literature on Lowland South America some authors have assumed that households form the basic unit of production and consumption and applied Sahlins' (1974) theory of the DMP (domestic mode of production) - for example Henley (1982) and Thomas (1982). Such an analysis would not be helpful here, since it would reify the notion of household and fail to account for the importance of community-based production and consumption. See Harris (1981) for a critique of Sahlins and the DMP.

46: Siskind (1973) lays stress on the husband and wife relationship in her analysis of cross-sex relations of production. She argues that Sharanahua men exchange meat for sex with their wives and that this is the pivot of the hunting economy. Yet Cashinahua wives sleep with their husbands whether their is meat available or not and men give meat to mothers-in-law and sisters as well as female cross-cousins. The point of being a good hunter is to be able to feed one's kin and in particular one's wife and children. See Kensinger (in press) for a discussion of Siskind's hypothesis in relation to the Cashinahua and Gow (in press b) for a critique of the value of the notion of exchange in male-female relations in Lowland South America.

47: *Dabi* (to christen, give a child a true name) is of the same root as *dabe*. See previous chapter.

48: *Medabe* can be used in the general sense of helping anyone.

49: The following story illustrates the non-exchangeability of labour for thing between kin on the one hand, and the exchangeability of labour for thing between non-kin on the other: When two Yaminahua brothers were brought to the village by the chief male leader on his return from a commercial visit downriver, they were treated well as visitors for several days, although as usual they were suspected of having access to powers of sorcery and were disliked from the start. They agreed to the leader's suggestion that they stay in the village and work weeding his extensive and unkempt gardens for him. In return for the work, they were to be paid out of cooperative stock, which for once was available. The leader had been unable to persuade any of his kinsmen to do the work for him, since he was rarely at home and usually unable to reciprocate. He knew that if he paid them in advance, as he had done before, the goods would be taken but the work remain undone. Within two weeks of the Yaminahua's arrival, they had asked for the hand of a young woman, little suspecting the outrage and amusement of the villagers, who nevertheless understood the unhappy predicament of men with no female kin and no wife to feed them. Noone was prepared to accept the young man as an affine and even less as a husband, although they were prepared to make them work for paltry reward. Two months later the Yaminahua were gone.

50: See Strathern (1984):162. She says, discussing Western concepts of property: "Such a Western concept of property... entails a radical disjunction - property relations are represented not as a type of social relations but as a relationship between people and things (cf.O'Laughlin (1974), Bloch (1975). The disjunction between people and things can also be merged with that between subject and object. As subjects people manipulate things: they may even cast others into the role of things insofar as they can hold rights in relation to these others." It is because people in Lowland American cultures do not conceive of persons in terms of a subject-object dichotomy that the slave trade of the Montaña in Peru cannot be interpreted except in reference to kinship. See Gow (in press a) for a pertinent discussion of this and related issues.

51: Hugh-Jones (in press) discusses barter, imported goods and related issues.

52: Kensinger says that the following game animals are *yuinaka kuin*, which he translates as "real meat, flesh", but which I prefer to translate as "game":

ENGLISH	CASHINAHUA	SPANISH	PORT.	LATIN
spider monkey	*isu*	maquisapa	coatá	ateles sp.
capuchin monkey	*xinu*		macaco prego	cebus
tapir	*ava*	sachavaca	anta	tapirus
deer	*chaxu*		veado	mazama
collared peccary	*junu yava*	sajino	porquinho or caititu	tayassu tajacu
white-lipped peccary	*yava kuin*	huangana	queixada	tayassu pecari
agouti	*madi*	añuje	cutia	dasyprocta
curassow	*jasin*	paujil	mutum	mitu mitu
tinamou	*kuma*	perdiz	nambu	tinamus mayor
large lizard	*nixekevan*			

Less sought after, among the Cashinahua of Balta at that time, were:-

howler monkey	*ndu*	coto	capelão	allouatta sen.
owl monkey?	*ni du*		macaco de noite	
squirrel monkey	*basa*			saimiri sci.
squirrel monkey	*xipi*	musmuque		
possum (some species)				
anteater (")	*xae*		tamandua	various
capybara	*amen*	ronsoco	capivara	hydrochoerus h
jabaru stork			jaburu	
heron	*baka bichu*			

The Cashinahua of Recreio at least were happy to eat all of these, except for possum, heron, and anteater, which were usually ignored by hunters; only on very few occasions did I see people eating them. Not eaten at all are :

jaguar	*inu keneya*	tigre	onça
ocelot	*bixi inu*	tigrillo	maracajá
snake	*dunu*	serpiente	cobra
vulture	*xete/peikun*	gallinazo	urubu
king vulture	*ixmin*		
sloth	*nain*		preguiça

(See Kensinger 1975;18-19)

I also observed the following being eaten, which Kensinger does not list as real or unreal meat:

harpy eagle	*navan tete*	gavilán	gavião real	
river rat	*maka*	rato		
toad	*tue*			
armadillo	*yaix*	carachupa	tatú	(various)
rodent	*tsanas*	punchana		
squirrel	*kapa*		coatipurú	sciurus sp

?furry monkey	*dukavan*	huapo		
paca	*anu*	majás	paca	agouti paca
toucans	*xuke*	tucán	tucano	ramphastos
parrots	*bava/tumi*	loro	papagaio	
blue macaw	*kana*	guacamayo	arara	
red macaws	*kain, xavan*	guacamayo	arara	
coatimundi	*xixi*	achuni		
tortoise	*xave*	motelo	jabuti	
turtle	*nesa*	taricaya	tracajá	
trumpeter bird	*nea*	trompetero	jacamim	psophia leu.

Of these, paca, tortoise and armadillo are especially prized game; less so, but never rejected are coatimundi, squirrel and tortoise and turtle. Kensinger's discussion of real and unreal seems overstated. People who will not eat anteater refrain from it because they do not like it, not because it is in some sense wrong to eat it. When asked why they would not eat it people would reply "*Itsaxenikí*", "It stinks a lot". The same reason is given by some people for not eating domestic sheep. Nearly all Cashinahua raise chickens and ducks. These can be owned and cared for by both men and women. In the villages of Peruvian origin and on the Jordão hardly anyone raises pigs, which are considered excessively dirty. In Fronteira every household has pigs, and several have cattle as well. The young of captured wild animals are sometimes raised as pets and these are not eaten, like dogs; however, enthusiasm for pets is not very marked. A Kulina village is likely to have many more. Those Cashinahua pets that do survive are often sold to Cariu. Domestic animals are owned by individuals, both men and women. These livestock only provide a marginal source of meat and hunting and fishing are in comparison far more important. Nowadays fish are an important source of protein for all Cashinahua.

53: Some of the wild/semi-wild gathered fruits and nuts which I saw:

PORTUGUESE	CASHINAHUA	LATIN	SPANISH
inga	*xenan*		guaba
assai			
patawa			
cacao			
massandaroba			
uricuri	*xebun*		
	yae		caimito
pupunha	*banin*	eriarta	

54: See Appendix 5 for the most important Cashinahua recipes. Peanuts are a favourite meat substitute, or if they are in short supply, the women might have been out to collect fungi or *navanti* leaves, which they cook wrapped in banana leaves. A little saved fat might be melted and served as a dip, with salt, or mixed with pounded boiled green banana, or as farofa, a common Brazilian dish based on a mixture of farinha and melted fat. At the very least a dish of salt is available for the manioc to be dipped in. Sometimes a few peppers are crushed in it.

55: Kensinger (1975), Deshayes (1986) or Siskind (1973), for example, consider meat to be a prestige food. Meat is certainly highly valued (as elsewhere in Amazonia) but may only be eaten in combination with female-produced vegetable food. Enthusiasm for male-produced food does not, in my opinion, entail a compementary denigration of female-produced food (indeed quite the opposite in the Cashinahua case) nor the placing of higher value upon male gender in relation to female.

56: I discuss the symbolism of heads in chapter 5. A cook shows her own generosity and the skill of her husband as a hunter by serving the head to him and his male eating companions.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1: Reference to female leadership in the literature is scant. Basso (1973) is an exception. She discusses Kalapalo female leadership in a number of contexts.

2: Kensinger (in press) also makes this point.

3: For example, Getulio Sueiro, contemporary leader of the Jordão, is the son of the old leader Sueiro. Pepe's son in Curanjillo on the Curanja is a dual leader. In Conta the leader Leoncio was training his teenage son Milton to be leader when I passed through (I saw him address a speech to the assembled village). In Fronteira Mouro Domingo's son Zéca was beginning to act as a leader in 1985 and was established as such by 1987.

4: See Kensinger (msl).

5: Maybury-Lewis (1974) describes how in-married young men are constantly subject to ill-treatment from their male affines. Leaders do not hesitate on occasion to fight with affines and village co-residents belonging to opposed factions and even to murder them. Politics of this kind is an exclusively male affair amongst the Shavante.

6: In Recreio, for example, Maria Domingo and Maria Sampaio were said to be responsible for overseeing such collective female production rather than Anisa Sampaio, Pancho's young wife.

7: He 'appointed' Zé Augusto Junior as leader of Santa Vitoria, and Mario (Aviciano) Sampaio as leader of Murubim. Ze was indeed resident at Santa Vitoria for a while (between 1985 and 1987) but Mario never had any intention of living at Murubim, where the Dauriano family lived. The latter 'appointment' was a political move by Pancho, against both his brother-in-law Mario and the Daurianos.

8: Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982):240-249.

9: Kensinger (ms1) notes that the leader keeps a box containing the harpy eagle feathers. Rabineau (1975) states that each man of the settlement contibutes feathers to his collection.

10: *Chidin Deve*; (Chants) - Source: Juan Nonato, of Conta, Peru

NAME	PURPOSE
1: Badi mae anini.......	For making vegetables, getting vegetables.
2: Muntu anini	
3: Binken jeneya	
4: Chana binken	
5: Badi Inka	
6: Xane Inka	
7: Xanen Pampa	
8: Inutsun.............	For making darkness
9: Manedabana..........	For getting game and heads
10: Duabu...............	For bringing the fish upriver
11: Jemani.............	For making them eat nixpo (as initiation).

11: See M4, Appendix 1.

12: See for example Overing Kaplan (1975) or Price (1981) on the Nambikuara.

13: Overing Kaplan (1975) and Taylor (1983) discuss the Piaroa and Achuar use of marriage as a strategy in community formation respectively.

14: On my visit to Recreio in 1987 Pancho's daughter was married to Milton, son of Leoncio the leader of Conta and had recently borne a child.

15: More than one man of either leaderly category ('true' or 'chanter') can be found in contemporary Cashinahua villages. In Balta there are at least 4 true leaders; in Santarem there are two; in Curanjillo two; and in Conta at least four. In Recreio itself the chief leader, a Dua man, had 3 "assistants", who helped him. An Inu man, his brother-in-law, and son of the chantleader, took over as true leader when the actual incumbent was away. Kensinger (ms1) notes that affines cooperated in this way during the late 50s/early 60s in Balta. The majority of true leaders that I encountered were Dua, but there is no necessary moiety affiliation. Rabineau (1975:102) discusses 3 Inu headmen on the basis of Kensinger's information. All the shamans at that time were Dua she notes. Kensinger (1976 ms) argues that the relationship between two primary political leaders ("focal males"), who belong to opposed moieties and who have 'exchanged sisters', structures social organization (as I discussed in chapter 1). One should be a herbal specialist, *juni dauya*, and the other a shaman, *juni mukaya*, he says. In Chapter 1 I argued that this model obscures our understanding of the dynamic of Cashinahua social and political organization.

16: Abreu's informants also told him that this was a formal mode of address used by leaders when talking to their people. See Abreu (1914):55 for example.

17: Santos Granero (1986) makes a similar point with regard to the Amuesha attitude to polygyny.

18: Clastres (1977). Lévi-Strauss (1967) considers consent to be the origin and extent of leadership amongst the Nambikuara. Also see Dole (1966) and Goldman (1963):151 for similar views of Kuikuru and Cubeo leadership respectively. The tension between a tendency towards an authoritarian style and a rejection of it among such peoples has been noted by several authors, notably Kracke (1978). See also Price (1981), who notes a slight tendency to a coercive style of leadership amongst a few Nambikuara leaders, and Dole (1966). Probably the most authoritarian leaders are to be found amongst the Gê and the Jivaroan peoples. As Overing (1983/4) points out in the case of the Piaroa, without control over land, labour or resources no leader can go far in exercising control over his followers.

19: This possibility, which gives such flexibility to social and political organization, is entirely dependent on access to land. At present such land is available for the Cashinahua.

20: I showed above how property relations are not conceived of according to a subject - object schema, or an imagery of active and passive. An owner's (*ibu*) possessions are extensions of self. In the image of leaders as parents (*ibu*) the relation between them and their people is similarly extensional.

21: Kensinger prefers to stress the relation between siblings. He says that the elder-younger sibling relationship "carries with it an explicit and implicit notion of hierarchy, of dominance and submission, which directly confronts egalitarianism" (1985):23.

22: Overing (1986) makes this point with regard to the Piaroa. She characterizes 'personal autonomy' as the ability to be self-contained, to control one's inner wildness and to domesticate the forces of culture obtained from outside within oneself. "Custom and law reside within the person and not without" she notes (ms. copy p.4)

23: In the SIL dictionary (Montag (1981) there are 38 entries under golpear ('to strike'). Erikson (1987) discusses the ritual use of such pedagogic violence amongst the Matis - in that case by 'mariwine' spirits rather than parents.

24: On the Achuar see Descola and Taylor; on the Piaroa Overing and on the Yanomami see for example Lizot (1985).

25: Overing (1983/4) stresses the variation in social control over individuals. The Gê-Bororo and people of the Northwest Amazon social control is emphasized in contrast to the Guianas. She says "The atomistic social structures usual to the Guianas and the unformalized nature of Guianese social groupings is, I would suggest, forthcoming from a philosophy of individualism (FN - see Rivière too) that is strongly expressed by these Amerindians, a philosophy which contrasts these Amerindians of the Guianas in general with their more "socially-minded" neighbours to the South who place certain types of control in the hands of society. In the Guianas such controls are the responsibility of the individual" (Ibid:334). Therefore personal autonomy goes for Overing hand-in-hand with self-control. See also Rivière (1984).

26: This usage was probably introduced by the SIL missionaries.

27: Aquino (1977) describes the story of Cequiera's relationship with the Cashinahua. He is also mentioned by Tastevin.

28: I was told this by Grompes of Balta and also Mouro Domingo of Fronteira. See also the myth of the great caiman in CPI (1984) and Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982).

29: I take the term 'homelitic' from Firth (1975). I mean by it 'for the purposes of teaching moral values and encouraging moral activities'.

30: I disagree with Clastres on this. He says: "The chief's obligation to speak, that steady flow of empty speech that he owes to the tribe, is his infinite debt, the guarantee that prevents the man of speech from becoming a man of power."Clastres (1977):131. I would not qualify such political oratory as 'empty'.

31: Tem que falar claro, sabe mandar, ser duro. Tuxaua manso não serve não. Ninguém quer obedecer, não dá! É responsabilidade, eu não quero ser chefe, quero ser trabalhador, fazer minha casa, limpar roçado, como os otros. Ser chefe é sofrimento.

32: See for example Taylor (1983) on the Jivaroan Achuar and Maybury-Lewis (1974) on the Gê Shavante.

33: I met one woman from the Jordão - Erondina Sueiro - who was experienced in negotiating with non-Cashinahua, fluent in Portuguese and Cariu cultural mores and able to travel to Rio Branco alone. A woman of considerable repute on the Jordão, where she was respected as a healer (using secret prayers in the manner of the Cariu), she was not however considered a leader by outsiders. Her father, Sueiro and her brother, Getulio, were the overall leaders of the Jordão, recognized as such by both Cashinahua and others. She was involved in the women's handicrafts project of 1985. Other older women from the Jordão similarily had experience of the Cariu, as did those from the Énvira. Contact between Cashinahua women and the Cariú has been more intermittent in recent years on the Purus and the Jordão, but not the Envira.

34: Nietta Monte (pc) considers this table too rigid in respect of education. Men also discuss the women's school, in her experience, because they are directly involved in the transport required for the women's coop and in its administration.

35: União das nações indigenas, Union of Indigenous Nations.

36: See Appendix 4 for transcriptions in Portuguese and Cashinahua.

37: See Appendix 4 for transcriptions in Portuguese and Cashinahua.

38: The term 'exchange' is one of the most widely used in the anthropological literature. Since Mauss's book The Gift it has widely been assumed that social relations crucially depend in any ethnographic context on a universal notion of debt. Prestations create present and future social ties in one way or another. In the case of Amazonia it is important to distinguish between kinds of social relations. Those created by prestations which are debt-creating (which I call exchange in this context) form social ties distinct from those created by prestations which are not. The construction put upon any particular transaction depends upon the tension between the two conceptions of prestation. It is very important to contrast exchange in Melanesia, for example, with this Lowland American form. This is not the place to substantiate this line of argument with a more general discussion of the literature, a task for which there is no room here. I shall however substantiate it in the text through a discussion of the Cashinahua case in particular. The conclusions to which I come owe much to many discussions with Peter Gow.

39: Lévi-Strauss (1967) and Santos Granero (1986b).

40: Gow (1987):228-231. He says: " The most serious problem with Clastres' formulation lies not in his account of leadership, but in the group led". Gow cites Overing Kaplan (1975), Rivière (1984), Kracke (1978) and Levi-Strauss on the Nambikuara in support of his view that 'leaders in Native Amazonian societies function to create, not lead, local groups'(Ibid).

41: Overing Kaplan (1977); Seeger (et al.) (1979); Rivière (1984).

42:: These necessities ('necessidades' as the Cashinahua call them) are many. Apart from metal tools and pans, they include cloth and clothes, kerosene, gasoline and mechanical items, and a host of small goods such as needles, thread, hair oil and textile dye.

43: See Gregory as cited in Strathern (1984), (1985) and (ms) on the distinction between gift and commodity in the Melanesian context, and Gell (in press) for a different view.

44: See Strathern (ms) for a comparative study of gift transactions in Melanesia.

45: See Basso (1973), Siskind (1973) and Hugh-Jones (in press) for example.

46: The Kulina once emptied the storehouse at the seringal Sobral of over £500 worth of goods. On another occasion, they took one summer's production of timber from a group of Cariu who had been working illegally on Indian land.

47: When Mouro Domingo took several steer to Manuel Urbano to sell in 1985, he was offered exactly half the usual price per kilo by the town butcher. Only after intervention from the nuns was a fair price paid the 'Indians'.

48: Quebra is the percentage of weight deducted by the purchaser of rubber in order to compensate for future weight loss due to water loss.

49: Objects said to belong to the community, such as an outboard engine, or a canoe, are the cause of much dispute. Since ownership implies responsibility, the lack of an owner means that noone is responsible, the object is soon broken and not mended. In the case of something as indispensible and expensive as the outboard, the leader attempts to resolve this by assuming ownership of/responsibility for the object, and then finds himself subject to accusations of either miserliness or theft on the part of those to whom he will not entrust it. In most cases these objects came to be "community property" because they were given as such by an outsider.

I did not know what to give to the people of Recreio as a form of "thank you for having me". In the end I decided to present the community with a tape recorder, so I brought one back to the village. At first it found a home in my house. If someone wanted to borrow it, s/he came and asked me; if someone else wanted it, then I would be asked to get it back and hand it on to the next person. Eventually I was due to leave once more. I had to find someone to be responsible for it, and asked Pancho. He replied, angrily, that such things only caused trouble, and that he was fed up with being accused of miserliness behind his back, and that the best thing I could do was take it away with me. I gave it to his brother-in-law, as "looker-after", instead. But on my return I found that noone had borrowed it from him. They were too proud to ask for "his" taperecorder.

50: See Strathern (1980) and the discussion of this issue in the introduction above.

51: Foi nos que fez tudo isso, não tinha nada quando nos chegamu, so mata mesmo. Derrubamu pau, plantamu roçado, batemu campo, fizemu tudo. O patrão diz que é dono, mas não é dono, não Senhora. Foi com nosso serviço que foi feito tudo isso, batalhamu mesmo. É nosso, da comunidade. Não e dele, não.

52: Project money has come from OXFAM, from the Canadian embassy, from FUNAI and so on.

53: Goldman (1963):chapter 6.

54: See chapter 3, section 2.

55: For the Yanomami see Lizot (1985); for the Achuar, Taylor (1983) and Descola; and for the Amahuaca, Dole (1974a).

56 I discuss this in greater detail in McCallum (ms2). See also the description of such a speech in Meeting (1) above.

57: The Cashinahua used to make an instrument 'for punishing spouses'. See Dwyer (1975).

58: Kensinger (1973) and (1974) discusses Cashinahua sorcery and shamanism. In Lowland societies sorcery is a means of attacking enemies both within and without. The Kuikuru are afraid to show hostility to their kin for fear of being suspected of sorcery (Dole 1966). The Piaroa "bomb" on the other hand, is a vengeance directed only at unknown outsiders (Overing 1986). Since all death for the Piaroa is caused by sorcery, usually carried out by foreign sorcerers, the revenge enacted by the shaman on the deceased's kin's behalf is normally directed outwards at all inhabitants of the unknown murderer's village. Sometimes, though, the murderer is known and revenge is enacted as magic directed specifically at him or her. The Kulina are famous sorcerers like the Piaroa. Disputes flare up involving sorcery accusations between close kin and the Kulina chiefs I talked to readily accused their coresidents of such behaviour. Unlike the Piaroa, they also take revenge through physical violence. For the Cashinahua, both kinds of violence are reprehensible, even though they willingly recognize that sorcery in particular was a favourite means of revenge between kin in the recent past.

I met one woman whom everyone assured me was a sorcerer (*feiticeira*). Nelsa came to Rio Branco from the Jordão. She had bewitched a young man to kill her sister-in-law, of whom she was jealous. As a result of the outrage this provoked she had to flee the area. Her *kuka* had ordered her to go, on pain of death. This was no empty threat. Several killings have occurred in this area in the recent past, besides the murder that she had provoked. Everyone I met whether in the Jordão or on the Purus was sure of Nelsa's guilt. She had long practised as a kind of shaman, curing people in return for payment of an exorbitant nature, I was told. Erondina, a healer who worked with Catholic prayers (a *rezadora*) commented on Nelsa's former practice, saying that a good person charged nothing for curing the unfortunate ill. Nelsa's power lay in a little lead figurine, imbued with the Holy Spirit, which she kept on a string around her neck. It gave her the power to make people ill, or to cure them, she told me. If someone insulted her, all she had to do was tell her holy Spirit to avenge the insult. Noone had any doubts as to the effectiveness of this spirit, as Nelsa's new watch, new mosquito net and new clothes attested to. Pancho promised his fellow leader, Getulio, to resolve the problem of Nelsa, who had been in Rio Branco for 4 months creating havoc with the young trainee Cashinahua teachers. He took her to Peru and left her with her *epa*, her father's brother, an inhabitant of Conta. Nelsa, aware that she would probably be killed if she returned to the Jordão, was happy to try a new life in Peru. During the voyage, Nelsa begged, or more exactly demanded, Pancho's shoes off him. One day I asked him why he was barefoot, since he had only just purchased the sandals. "What could I do?" He asked me "She is an evil woman and might have done anything if I had refused".

According to the people of Recreio, there were many evil sorcerers (*yuxian, mukaya*) in the past, but nowadays there are none among the Purus Cashinahua. If anyone starts a rumour that someone is a sorcerer, Pancho is angry and lectures them on the need to avoid lying and the disruption it causes. He insists that there are no sorcerers or shamans anymore. Experts in herbal medicine are sometimes suspected of possessing the knowledge for sorcery. These same people are the *chana xanen ibu*. Usually people say that there are no sorcerers although they readily accuse the people of the Jordâo of such evil practices. Many people used to be sorcerers but have now "forgotten" their knowledge. Pancho often said that he had murdered many people in the past, but since he had accepted the Baptist religion, he had turned away from "Satanis". His enemies would be punished by God.

Apart from the use of a spirit helper like Nelsa's lead figurine, sorcerers could use poison which they put on people's clothes. One favourite was the fish-poison vine barbasco, which the Cashinahua of the Purus now refuse to collect or cultivate. They fish exclusively with huaca. Collected nail files or hair thrown in the fire is also sorcery. In all cases the action of the sorcerer results in illness or death on the part of the victim. Whatever the means, the violence is always physical. Such powerful knowledge as that which resulted in one's enemies death was undoubtedly necessary in the past, as Kensinger (op cit.) demonstrates. Ideal settlements were supposed to have their own shaman. Kensinger's translation of *juni mukaya* (literally "man with bitter", as opposed to the herbalist, the man with *dau*, medecine, or *bata dauya*, with sweet medecine). The 'mukaya' was the only one able to deal with illnesses of supernatural origin (Kensinger 1973). Nowadays *muka* has highly perjorative connotations. In the past it appears to have been dangerous but desirable, refering to a particular form of magic, or knowledge, obtained from spirits. A man with *muka* was equally able to kill and to cure. (In Shipibo, the term usually translated as shaman is 'muka').

A current term translated as botar feitiço ('to put a spell on someone') is *dau van-*, which is the prejudicial form of *dau va-*, to cure, give medicine. People also often translate feitiçeiro, sorcerer, as *juni dauya*. Shaman, pajé, is translated as *yuxian*. On the Purus there is no Cashinahua shaman. The only powerful shaman is a Cariu, who works with the Holy Spirit and the soul of a Kulina shaman. People go to him occasionally to be cured, but would not dream of consulting a Kulina shaman (of whom there are many). The Kulina are evil, in the sense that they are wild Indians who have not accepted God. The Cariu shaman diagnoses the cause of illness, but warns his patients that it is for God to exact vengeance on the sorcerer. Only the experts in "sweet medicine", (who are also the chantleaders) continue to cure. Faith in God and Western medicine has replaced dependence on powerful and knowledgeable, but dangerous, shamans.

59: For example, community objects are owned by either the headman or his wife, depending upon whether men or women use them (Goldman (1963):75). The leader is responsible for making sure that everyone produces chicha (corn beer) and is dependent upon his wife for doing this (chapter 6). It consumption symbolizes and reinforces the community.

60: Descola (1986):chapter 4.

61: Ibid:122-125.

62: See Viveiros de Castro (1986a) on the idea of 'topological transformations' and Gow's (1987) discussion (pp.285-291).

63: See Taylor (1983) on the Achuar and Brown (1986) on Aguaruna suicide.

64: Descola (1986):166.

65: Taylor (1983) notes "depending on areas and historical periods, 50 percent to 60 percent of deaths among (Achuar) males may be attributed to homicide" (p.343). I have recorded only a few Cashinahua deaths attributable to homicide.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1: For central Brazil see Wagley (1977) on the Tapirapé corn harvest; Maybury-Lewis (1974) on the Shavante use of corn; Lea (1987) on the Kayapo. For a general survey see Steward (ed.) (1948).

2: I do not know if women publically initiate Kachanaua, although they may suggest one.

3: *Ainbu javendua jayajaidai, man beyus ikatsi ikabumenkaiñ?*

4: Iriartea ventricosa. In Cashinahua *tau*.

5: *Deve* is often translated by the Cashinahua as "prayer" or reza. They consider it a form of language imbued with magical force, a means of addressing God or spirits and saints and making them act on behalf of the speaker or singer. In Cariú culture there is a pervasive belief in the power of reza. The most common curing involves the muttering of semi-secret prayers over the sick person, or afflicted area of her or his body. One of the men in Recreio was adept in this form of curing.

6: *Ju ju ju ju; Ju ju ju ju; Ju ju ju ju; Jave jene didinya*
Xeki jene didinya; Didinya, Didinya; Javen jene didinya:
Ju ju ju ju; Ju ju ju ju; Tama jene didinya, Didinya, Didinya
Ju ju ju ju; Ju ju ju ju; Javen jene didinya, Atsa jene didinya
Didinya, didinya; Ju ju ju ju; Mani jene didinya, Didinya, Didinya
etc.

The song continues with the same format, mentioning most of the produce of a typical Cashinahua garden. Many of the songs fit into this pattern, as the following examples of "women's songs" show:-

Ju ju ju ju, Ju ju ju ju; Javen iua sadin, Xeki iua sadin
Ju ju ju ju, Ju ju ju ju; Nai bedu taba, Tabaman tidani
Ju ju ju ju; Ju ju ju ju; Javen jua sadin, Tama iua sadin
etc.

This song refers to the flowers of the plants of the garden scattering. The next one refers to the sprouting of the plants, the beginning of their new life.

Ju ju ju ju; Ju ju ju ju, Juadin, Juadin
Tae teadin, tae taedin, xeki taedin, xeki taedin
Ja tae taedin, tae taedin, xeki taedin, tae taedin
etc.

7: Townsley nd.

8: *Ju ju ju, Ju ju Ju*
Ea chai bitana
Ea chai bitana
Chaibun bitana
Baka inantidixun
Baka maikidiya
Ea chai bitana
Ea uma vaxunven
Xeki Juan uma
Ea ayamadive
Chaibetan ayunun
Inkabetan ayunun
Inka junibubetan
Ea ayamadive
Jene xubi ayunun
Chaibetan ayunu
Ju ju ju, Ju ju Ju

9: All the songs appear to be about vegetable food and not about meat. Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982) also note that this is so.

10: *Ju ju Ju ju, Ju Ju Ju ju; Nava mana kanikani, Na mana kani kani*
Maxi mana kani kani, maxi mana kani kani.
Jidi mana kani kani. jidi mana kani kani,
xeki mana kani kani, 2; Xeki ichu kavani, 2
Ichu ichu kavani, 2; Ju ju Ju ju, Ju Ju Ju ju;
nava mana kani kani, 2; Tama mana kani kani, 2
Tama ichu kavani, 2; Ichu ichu kavani, 2
Ju ju Ju ju, Ju Ju Ju ju; Nava mana kani, Nava mana kani.
Maxi mana kani,2; atsa mani kanikani, Atsa ichu kavani, 2;
Ichu kavani, 2; Ju ju Ju ju, Ju Ju Ju ju;
Nava mana kani, nava mana kani, Mani mana kani kani
Mani ichu kavani, 2; Ichu ichu kavani, 2
Ju ju Ju ju, Ju Ju Ju ju
(2 indicates a repetion of the same refrain.)

11: *manan manananki ju ju; mana kayaki ju ju; javen mananki ju ju;*
jua mananki ju ju; manan mananki ju ju; yubin mananki ju ju;
badan mananki ju ju; etc.

12: javen xuxu, xu xu; xeki xuxu, xeki xuxuu; mani xuxu, xuu xuu,
pua xuxu, pua xuu xuu, javen xuxu xuu xuu, badan xu xu badan,
xuu xuu, etc.

13: The vampire bat is also a symbol of the vagina for the Dessana (Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971):62/90/101).

14: *Xave bene texau keskadaxeni; Ava bene jina jabiabidi!*

15: See chapter 3 on female collective harvesting expeditions.

16: The trumpets are made of cane and armadillo tails, attached together with cotton and *bui*, a mixture of resin and beeswax. Capistrano de Abreu eports that other noisemakers were also used, which people know about nowadays but generally do not bother to make. All ceremonial entrances and exits to the village are accompanied by noise, including whoops from the men.

17: The symbolism of heads is discussed below. Briefly, it is the eternal part of the body; the trunk and limbs are the part which rots (see below). Macaws are also associated with Inu powers. The same red feathers are used in the *chidin* headress (see above)

18: *Dau* also means medicine, both good and bad, and the substance which causes illness in witchcraft. *Dau va-* , translated as botar feitiço, means "to bewitch", to put a spell upon someone. The term has a flavour of something mysterious and potent.

19: In Capistrano de Abreu, the *kacha* is translated as both caissuma and the log. The caissuma was made 5 days before the finale and fermented in the hollow (see below).

20: I was unable to get an explanation about these two spirits.

21: S.Hugh-Jones convincingly demonstrates the importance of myth for the analysis of ritual in the Northwest Amazon. He says that myths should be seen as more than mere charters, that they "are understood at a deeper level, by shamans and ritual specialists, and are used to give meaning and potency to rites."(1979):6). He defends the idea that "through ritual... the elaborate mythological systems of these people acquire their meaning as an active force and organizing principle in daily life"(ibid:3). I would not put this point quite so forcefully s far as Kachanaua is concerned. Kachanaua has remained more or less the same since the time of Capistrano de Abreu, but there is much that has changed in daily life. I would prefer to say that daily life gives meaning and potency to the ritual and the mythology, rather than vice versa. Nevertheless, as Hugh-Jones shows there is much to be gained from an understanding of myth. Also See Bloch (1986) on the relation of ritual to history.

22: In Capistrano de Abreu there are many other creation myths. Versions of some of these were told me by the Cashinahua. In these myths repeated attempts to create a peopled earth are always thwarted because of people's immortality. Each new creation results in the total destruction of the earth. It is turned upside down, the sky becoming earth and the earth sky. Each time one of the dead, transformed into Sky People (*Nai Nava*), becomes pregnant. Lightning kills her and throws her body onto the earth where it is found by other people and opened, releasing twins, a girl and a boy. These marry after they grow up, people multiply and all is well until the worlds reverse again and earth becomes sky, Earth People (*Mai Nava*) became Sky People and all living things are obliterated. Eventually, through a mistake, the mortality of humanity is initiated, when the earth people mishear a plea for them to change their skins and remain immortal. They die instead; but even so, the present age does not begin for these people still marry their siblings.

23: Ministerio de Educacion - Republica Peruana & SIL (1980b).

24: See d'Ans (1975); Deshayes and Keifenheim (1982):57-60. The latter say apropos of the antidiluviam ancestors: "Pour (les Kashinawa) les Hiri n'etaient pas des humains car ils ne possédaient as de division Inu/Dua/Inani/Banu et pas de règles d'echanges et de mariage. Le passage à lètat d'humains se d'etermine à partir de la notion de réciprocité des moitiès par rapport aux relations de mariage et d'échanges."(p.59). See Appendix 1.

25: See Appendix 1, M6.

26: There is an implication that Navapaketanvan is connected to the Incas because Incas live at the tops of mountains; also, the verb *mava* means to die. When a person dies s/he sees the slope of the roof (*xubu*) as a mountain slope. Death is associated closely with the Incas.

27: See Chapter 2.

28: In Tukanoan symbolism, gourds and hollow trees can also stand for wombs (S.Hugh-Jones (1979):167; Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971):114/199).

29: It might be possible to argue that the sexual taunting stands for what Lévi-Strauss calls the "Rotten World", which is indicated by riotous noise and total darkness and indicates a disjunction between Sky and Earth, a disruption of the process of life by such disasters as eclipse or flood. In this case the opposition between men and women in their competitive taunting could indicate the disjunction and Lévi-Strauss does equate the two oppositions (1969:289). Fire, in the fire game, could stand the search for mediated conjunction between Sky and Earth, to avert the danger of total conjunction, the Burned World (ibid:293). Levi-Strauss also argues that there is a parallel between the rotten world, eclipse and the theme of incest(ibid:296), which would fit with my analyisis of sexual taunting and the fire game as undifferentited(incestuous) sex. The Ho Ho dances, following Levi-Strauss, would indicate total conjunction - the Burned World - which is associated with chanting. The alternations between the two, taunting (noise) and chanting, during the all-night dancing end at dawn, when silence, associated with the desired state representing cooking fire, reigns again. See Hugh-Jones (1979):227-238 for a discussion of these themes in relation to Yurupari.

30: I discuss the importance of snakes in teaching young men to hunt above in chapters 2 and 3. They used to eat the tongue of the *yubexeni* snake.

31: Hugh-Jones (1979:189) says that the removal of ceremonial clothes in *He* house causes a disjunction between men and spirits.

32: I am grateful to S. Hugh-Jones for suggesting this analogy.

33: The songs quoted in FN 10 above seems to be about this episode in the myth.

34: I am grateful to S. Hugh-Jones for suggesting this.

35: In Capistrano de Abreu, there are several descriptions of Kachanaua, in which the final event after the destruction of the *kacha*, was the snorting of tobacco snuff. If this is an analogous to celestial fire, as suggested in Levi-Strauss (see Hugh-Jones (1979) then one could compare this to the moment in the original creation myths when Lightning causes the birth of the ancestral twins by striking down their mother and throwing her to Earth (see FN 22 above).

36: Overing (1982); (1986). See the discussion of this issue in Gow (1987):285-291.

37: There is a fundamental difference between forms of exchange such as kula and moka, and the "giftless" transactions found in Lowland America. The most recent and sophisticated discussion of gift exchange in Melanesia is to be found in Strathern (ms). This develops certain themes brought up in an earlier article (Strathern 1985), in which, following Collier and Rosaldo (1981) and Sacks (1979), she contrasts brideservice and bridewealth (gift) economies thus: "I would summarize the brideservice logic by asserting that transfers of things do not underwrite the gift premise of "reciprocal dependence between persons through the "exchange of inalienable objects" (Gregory (1982):101)" Strathern (1985):202).

38: See above, chapter 3.

39: Human sexuality is commonly a focus in rituals in Lowland American societies. See for example Goldman (1963); Hugh-Jones (1979); Gregor (1985); Wagley (1977).

40: The Barasana use the paxiuba tree as a symbol of maleness and the eternal, in the form of *He* trumpets. Hardness is a masculine quality for Cashinahua as well as Barasana, and the *kacha* could be said, like the trumpets, to combine properties of both genders, in the hard outside and the hollow inside. See Hugh-Jones (1979).

41: See Chapter 2.

42: Hugh-Jones argues that for the Barasana vomiting is symbolic of birth. This interpretation would also fit here. I said above that the breaking of the kacha at dawn is analogous to birth and suggests the end of the period in mythic times when reproduction of human beings involved incest.

43: Capistrano de Abreu (1914):95-99 (on the "Pot-bellied Paxiuba Dance") Ibid:73-86 (on headhunting).

44: This is a summary of the original version.

45: In one of the episodes of the Cataclysm myth in Abreu, the female character is called Maxi, meaning sand or beach and the male character is called Mana, similar to the word for highland, *manan*.

46: On Cashinahua sorcery see chapter 4, FN 58. Erikson reports that the Matis, a Panoan-speaking people, consider human life to be a progessive drying of the person, such that after death old people become black, dry forest spirits (P.Erikson, Seminar held at Azay-Le-Ferron, March 24 1987).

47: Capistrano de Abreu (1914):73-86.

48: *En Nabun, nun matun pia buimaxun, yuinakadasi detetanai, mexukidi pibukaven*! (Capistrano de Abreu (1914):84/741).

49: See FN 37 above.

50: See above (introduction to section 2).

51: Viveiros de Castro (1984) characterizes the Gê conception of the Person at one end of a continuum and the Tupi-Guarani (including the Arawete) at the other. He says that the Gê think of the Person as a dual figure, "delicate synthesis between Nature and Culture, Becoming and Being, individual and person"(1984:10). Their concept is expressed in terms of either /or, of complementary opposition. Viveiros de Castro says that the Tupi do not make such an opposition; the dual composition of the person is only realized after death. In life, the Tupi-Guarani Person is always in the process of "becoming other": in contrast, the Gê Person "is" the other (Ibid:97-101).

52: Gregor (1985):77/114.

53: Ibid:121.

54: He says: "..sex is a social activity that intertwines with kinship and tribal identity, and the Mehinaku sense of what it means to be human". (Ibid:8) and "...it is well to remember that Mehinaku men and women are also united in enduring relationships of work, residence, kinship and affection". (Ibid:22).

55: On the subject of rape, Rivière suggests (pc) that women who are raped usually have few kin or are orphans. Arhem's (1981) data on Makuna marriage and Wagley's (1977) report on a case of gang-rape among the Tapirapé would support this view.

56: Hugh-Jones (1979): Introduction.

GLOSSARY

(a) Cashinahua Terms

ain	wife
ainbu	woman
ba	(verb) to create, to be created, to be cooked
bai	garden
bake	child
bakebu	children
Banu	female moiety name
bava	to cook
bedu	eye; seed
buni	hungry
chai	man's brother-in-law and/or male cross-cousin; (adj.) far
chana	oropendola bird
chana xanen ibu	chantleader
Dua	male moiety name ('shining one')
duapa	generous
ibu	parent; owner
Inani	female moiety name
Inu	male moiety name ('jaguar')
inu	jaguar
jancha	language; tongue
ji	tree
juni	person; man
junibu	people; men
kacha	ceremonial trough
kena	name; (verb) to call, invite, name
kena kuin	Cashinahua name
kuin	real, true
kuka	father-in-law, MB; (woman's) son
mae	village, settlement; (verb) to move
nabu	kin
nava	foreigner, Brazilian, Peruvian; (verb) to dance
nixi pae	hallucinogenic made with *banisteriopsis caapi*
nixpu kuin	stalk used to blacken teeth
nukun	our
pae	strong, intoxicating; (noun) a cold, influenza
pintsi	hungry for meat
tsabe	woman's sister-in-law and/or female cross-cousin
xanen ibu	leader
xankin	hollow; hole; womb
xenipabu	old one, ancient, ancestor
xeta	tooth
xuta	namesake
yauxi	miserly
yuda	body; group of people
yuda bake	shadow
yupa	unlucky in hunting
yuxibu	monster, demon
yuxin	soul, spirit, ghost, photo

Portuguese (and Spanish - Sp.)

alma	soul, demon, ghost
area indigéna	legally delimited indigenous people's land
aviamento	supplying, fitting out
ayahuasca (Sp.)	hallucinogenic made with banisteriopsis caapi
barracào	storehouse of a rubber estate
caboclo	Indian (regional usage)
caissuma	beverage
cantina	storehouse/shop
Cariu	non-Indian Brazilian resident in the region of Acre
caucho	inferior rubber
centro	hinterland
colocaçào	small settlement in the hinterland of a rubber estate
(pl.) colocações	
correria	planned massacre
culto	prayer meeting
estrada	road, way; path joining up wild rubber trees
friagem	cold spell
genipapo	fruit the juice of which is used for body painting
maloca	traditional indigenous Amazonian dwelling
marreteiro	itinerant trader
parente	relative
patrào	boss, manager
Paulista	person fron S. Brazil (regional usage); person from São Paulo
paxiuba	palm tree (several varieties)
pequi	fruit found in central Brazil (Caryocar brasiliense)
seringa	rubber (hevea brasiliensis)
seringal	rubber estate
seringalista	owner or manager of a rubber estate
seringueiro	rubber tapper
tuxaua	leader
xaropim	namesake

APPENDIX 1: MYTHS

M1	The Moon
(a)	Yubenawabuxka
(b)	Marinawa becomes Moon
(c)	How the girl who would not marry became Moon
(d)	Yubenawabuxka (by Romão Sales)
(e)	d'Ans
M2	The First Night
M3	The Inca and Yutan
(a)	Abreu:442-6
(b)	Abreu:446-7
M4	The Vulture that Stole the Sun
M5	Ixan or the first creation
(a)	SIL
(b)	d'Ans
M6	Netebuken, after the flood
(a)	Adauto of Balta
(b)	SIL
(c)	d'Ans
(d)	Abreu
M7	White Squirrel Spirit
M8	Bixku the ulcerated
M9	The invention of potting
M10	The invention of weaving
M11	The invention of design
M12	White-lipped Peccaries

M1 The Moon

Versions (a) to (c) of the myth are taken from Abreu (1914):454-458). Version (d) was recorded in 1985 on the Jordão.

(a) Yubenawabuxka

There were many Huni Kuin who wanted to fight and they got their relatives together in order to attack the Binanawa, the wasp people. The Binanawa, who lived beside the Envira, the sun river, were really fierce, and really miserly. They were sleeping together one night, in the dark, and the Huni Kuin came and killed them with blows from their clubs. Just one woke up, and he cut off *Yube Nawa*'s head. (Yube means cobra pintado, painted snake, and also witch, according to Abreu).

His body fell, and lay still, but his head went rolling over and over. It bounced and rolled along. All his relatives, who were unscathed, walked on crying because of this. They buried his head, packing down the earth tightly, and put a piece of wood upon the grave, and left. On their way home they crossed many large rivers, in full torrent. Yubenawa's head got out of that hole *(kini)* and followed after them, shouting out. They thought he was a Binanawa, and hid with their arrows at the ready, but as the head came bouncing past, they realized their mistake. They came out of hiding, and buried it again, and set off, crossing many swollen rivers on their way home.

Yubenawa's head got out of the hole (*kini*) and shouting out, followed after them. It plopped across the rivers on its own. They were altogether, sleeping, and the head came along, all alone, shouting. They had barely entered the house when they firmly shut its door. The head was on its own outside, rolling along, around the house, shouting. They were afraid and woke up during the night and had a meeting. The head was laying claim to its possessions.

So they gave him his balls of cotton thread. He grasped them with his teeth. Vulture, *xete*, took the thread up into the sky. Yube Nawa hung from the balls of thread by his teeth. His people taught him:

> Yubenawa Head, go for 5 days. Disappear as the laying-down moon.

So for 5 days he remained hidden. But he told them:

> Whilst I am hidden, the women will be made love to with the feathers of the red macaw, and as a result of this they will menstruate.

The moon disappeared as promised. From Yubenawa's eyes the stars were made, from his head the moon, and the rainbow, the Nawa path, from his blood. Yubenawa remained hidden for 5 days, and his people were happy, and became healthy, and all the women bled, and finally they understood. The men made love whilst they bled, and they got pregnant. The children who were concieved at the time of the moon are born black, they say.

(b) Marinawa becomes Moon

Contanawa wanted to kill Marinawa. (*Kunta* is coconut, and *Madi* is agouti). However Marinawa fled. Contanawa came along, thinking to domesticate Marinawa, and gave him as a present many arrows. Marinawa was happy, and accepted the arrows. He put on his iapu tail headress, with its long yellow feathers. The two of them walked along in the forest together. They got *nixpo* stalks and Marinawa chewed them as they walked along. How black his teeth became! Finally they came near to Contanawa 's house, and Marinawa felt ashamed, and came to a halt. Contanawa asked him what the matter was and why he was rooted to the spot. He replied that it was nothing really, and that he was ashamed of his wife. Contanawa said he was not to worry, and should move on.

So Marinawa combed his hair, and tied on his arm bands, and decorated himself. When he was ready, they set off, Contanawa bringing up the rear. When they had entered the house, a huge hammock with woven designs was hung up in the central space of the house, and Marinawa reclined in it. Contanawa ordeered his wife to bring food for Marinawa. She agreed - *Jen!* - and filled up a big *kenpe* pot with caissuma, and gave it to Marinawa, who drained it.

They were fed all kinds of vegetable foods. Marinawa ate some, and wrapped up some to take home with him. Marinawa's hair was incredibly long. In the afternoon Marinawa decided to go home. Contanawa said he would escort him. Marinawa took his leave of the latter's wife, Contanawa took up his machete, a really sharp one, and grasped hold of his arrows. Marinawa asked him why he was bringing such a large machete. He replied that he had seen a beautiful tree and wanted to fell it. But when they were nearing Marinawa's house, Contanawa decapitated him with a great blow. Marinawa's body stayed there upright and trembling, unable to run. Contanawa struck him on the back and he fell over. Marinawa was looking at Contanawa, who picked up his head, having sharpened a stick, and planting it in the middle of the path, stuck the head on it and went home.

Another Marinawa had gone very far whilst hunting, and saw the head with its long hair blowing in the wind. He mistook it for a spirit-monster, *yuxibu*, and fled. But then he decided to come back for another look. He found the body and then the head, with its shining eyes and batting eyelids. Its mouth kept opening and shutting. He was afraid and cried. He asked why he had been decapitated and his head stuck on a stick in the middle of the path, but the head could not reply to his brother, *betsa*. The other brother decided to go and tell his people, and ran off.

The abandoned head cried, and the tears dripped down, and his hair swung. The other Marinawa entered his house and told his people, *Nabu*. They decided to go and fetch the head. All of them went, some carrying spears, others clubs, others arrows, and others their carrying baskets. After they had left the house, they walked along shouting out as they went. Contanawa was there waiting, hidden in a pau-mulato tree. The Marinawa gathered around thehead, which was crying, its mouth open, unable to speak. They stood and cried for him, and when they had finished, one took the head whilst another threw the stick away. The Contanawa saw all this from his vantage point on top of the pau-mulato tree.

They put the head in the basket and, shouting, retuned along the path. Twice the baskets broke and the head fell out of them. So 2 Marinawa returned and buried the body. Again and again the baskets broke, and the head, which unknown to them was cutting at the basket with his teeth, fell out. Eventually they slung him directly on the back of one of the Marinawa. The head, mistaking his back for a basket, bit at him with his teeth. His porter screamed and dropped the head. In the end they decided to leave the head behind, afraid that it would cast a spell on them (*nuku daki damivapaikiki* - perhaps it is trying to transform us without success.)

The head decided to roll after its people along the path, and they saw it and were afraid and decided to run. The head found its tongue, shouting out:

> My People, wait for me! I'm going home wth you!

This only made them run faster. Then they came to a garapé in flood, and swam across it. The head followed them, crying as it came. There was a bacuparyseiro tree by the side of the river, loaded with ripe fruits. Everyone climbed up it once they had crossed the river, which the head plopped across. It stopped under the tree and told them to come down. they were sitting up there eating the ripe fruits. Marinawa head asked them for his share. Someone threw down a green one, but he didn't eat it. They threw him a ripe one, which he ate. When he asked for another, they threw it in the river, but he reused to go after it. He demanded another, so they threw a big ripe one a long way off, and he went after it. Meanwhile they scrambled dow and ran off.

They stopped in the middle of the path and stood, wondering if he was following them. Contanawa saw them from his pau-mulato tree and climbed down and went home. The head started to follow them again, and they ran into their house and barred the door. The head pleaded with them to open up and let him in, but they refused. He circled the house, crying, drying his tears with his hair. Then it said:

> My People, open up, all I want is my things!

But they wouldn't open up. So then he said:

> May I transform myself? *Damipa*?

He told them everything that had happened to him, appealing to them to throw out his things. In return, he would transform himself. They asked him what he would turn himself into. He replied that he would transform his blood, his eyes and his head. From his blood he would make the rainbow, the Nawa path; but what about the eyes and head? He went through a long series of possibilities. Every kind of vegetable, which they could eat. A garden, so they could plant and eat. Earth, which they could walk on. Water so they could drink him. Fishpoison, so they could eat the fish he kiled. Game, so they could kill and eat him. A snake, which they could kill after he got angry and bit them, or a scorpion. A tree, which they could fell and, when dry, burn to make firewwod and use for cooking, and eat him. A vampire bat, which they would kill once he had bitten them in the night. The sun, and warm them when they were cold and trembling. Rain, which swells the rivers, and make sfishing possible. Grass, which sprouts, and the animals eat. Cold, which cools one down when the sun burns. Darkness, so that you may sleep. Dawn, so that on awakening, you can see.

He finally decided; "I will turn my eyes into the stars, and my head into the moon". He explained that all the women and adolescent girls would menstruate. They were afraid and asked him why. he told them not to worry, and explained that when the moon was hidden they would bleed. They all heard him.

Then he got his blood, put it in a *kencha* bowl, and threw it up into the sky, where it formed the rainbow. Then he plucked out his eyes, and threw them up, and they became the stars. Finally he asked for two of his balls of cotton thread, and his people threw them out to him. He flung them up into the sky where *Basikun* vulture caught hold of them, flying off to the centre of the sky with them. The head told his people that he was leaving for the centre of the sky, to become moon. Again he told the women that they would menstruate. Up he went, and they came out onto the patio to look at him. It was all as he had said - rainbow, stars, and moon.

All the women and adolescent girls bled. Their husbands made love to them, and the bleeding stopped and they became pregnant.

(c) How the girl who would not marry became moon
It was the time of the first people, *En nabu babenaitaya*, who had no moon rainbow or stars. There was a girl, Yasa, who would not marry. Her mother was very angry and cut her head off. She threw the body in the river, and it floated off. But the head remained alive, and asked her what it should become. Vegetable, so they could eat her? River so they could drink her and urinate her? Tree, to cut her down and burn her? Earth, to walk on? Game, to kill and eat? Jarina palm, to make houses from? In the end she decided to become moon. She threw up some balls of cotton thread, and the vulture, *xete*, took them way up. She climbed up and hung there. Then she spoke to her parent, *ibu*. She said she was going to be moon and all the women would bleed. When they had stopped bleeding, all the women would become pregnant. The mother went outside to look at her. Yasa turned her eyes into the stars, her blood into the rainbow, and her head into the moon. When the new moon came out 2 days later, all the women bled. When they had stopped, they became pregnant. When the blood coagulated the child was dark when it was born. When the semen coagulated, it was born white. (Abreu 5401-5402).

(d) Yubenawabuxka by Romão Sales of the Jordão (TAPE 22, August 19th 1985)
In this version the story follows closely version (a) above. However, it begins with the classic episode where a woman discovers that her nightime lover is her brother Yube by smearing his face with genipapo juice during the night. Yube leaves to hunt Nawa (in this case the Bunkunawa) with his *chai*, and a foolish character called Burupa, their *tsuma*, who eats the game which they kill along the way despite their admonitions to leave it alone. The Bunkunawa kill Yube, and decapitate him, and from thereon the story follows a similar path to (a). Again, no food or drink can be absorbed by the unhappy head, who in the end ralizes he must transform himself since he cannot live with his frightened kin. eventually he decides to become *uxe*, Moon, and the cause of menstruation via the manipulation of red macaw tail feathers. A liitle girl crys out "Look, there is *uxe*!" and all the women have a menses.

(e) D'Ans collected another version of this myth (1975:113-22). In this Yube makes love to his parallel cousin. Yube leaves to kill Bunkunawa with his brother-in-law, Butupa. The events follw a similar course to (a) and (d) above, and eventually the head goes up into the sky singing a song in language similar to that sung by Romão Sales in version (d) (p.122). Again, a young girl calls Yube "Moon" and all the women bleed. Finally, a rainbow appears, and that is the beginning of human death.

(Myths 2 to 4 are a sequence transcribed by Capistrano de Abreu, M1 is an abbreviated version of the original, and Ms 3-5 are my translations).

M2 The First Night: Abreu:436-442
Many of my relations (*enabu*) lived together. They lived near to darkness but they didn't have night nor cold nor sun. They lived very well. Some

lived by the hole of dawn, some by the hole of darkness, some by the hole of sun/day, and some by the hole of cold. Someone was angry and opened up these 4 holes. One man went gardening, one hunting, one to weed his manioc. One woman went to get water, one to bathe, another to the garden, another to defecate. It was said that a sorcerer (*mukaya*) had let night out of its hole. Wherever the people were and whatever they were doing, they lay down in the darkness and spent the night. Those who lived beside dawn shut night in its hole again and the darkness disappeared. Everyone returned from where they had spent the night (in those days people used to sleep when the sun was high) and a meeting was held beside the house of the person who lived beside the night hole. They decided to open and shut the holes in the proper order and that is why we are able to sleep the whole night through. Those relations of mine live at the root of the sky, where night is pitch black, cold is freezing, the sun is like fire, and the dawn is very clear.

M3 Yutan spider and the Inca:

NOTE; '*Yutan*' is the term for both a kind of spider which is said to live in a hole in the ground that is peculiarly cold, and also for the short cold spells which signal the end of the rainy season and the start of the dry, known as friagem in Brazil. (See D'Ans 1975).

(a) (Abreu: 442-446)
The Inca is a terrible *yuxibu* (monster, devil), they say. In the past he lived close to the Cashinahua (*Juni Kuin*). Once he came to their house and tricked them. "Let's go and swing ourselves", he said, and he playe with them, swinging. His song or dance is '*Inka inka bua*'. Whe he had finished playing and swinging, he killed the swingers but did not eat them, and he killed those who had not swung, and ate them. The Inka always eats the non-swingers once he has killed them.

The Cashinahua were terrified and ran far away, where they began a new life. Fearing the Inca as they went, they made their lives far away. At that time the Cashinahua (*Juni Kuin*) did not know (*xinan*) anything; they did not understand (*ninka*) anything, they did not see (*uin*) anything. How well they lived! They made huge gardens, planted ther vegetables, and lived. When they matured they ate them. How good their life was!

The Inca was living all alone. he had a little container of cold stored away, and one of darkness. Yutan spider arrived. " O Yutan do you want to live with me?" - "Is your house good?" - "My house is very fine, I live alone just me and my wife, there's noone else to live with." Yutan told him he liked his house and was going to live with him. Inca's wife asked her husband who he had brought, and he explained. They say she then cooked food and fed him. She boiled manioc for him; she boiled green corn for him; she made corn bread for him from fresh corn; she boiled sweet potatoes for him; she roasted peanuts for him; she made sweet banana drink for him; she made caissuma for him. When she had done all this, and Yutan had eaten and stuffed himself, really polished everything off, he rested. then he went with Inca to his garden, which he inspected from its centre. What an abundance of vegetables had Inca! Inca showed him everything, including his little flasks, one of cold, and one of night, they say. Yutan was happy to be living with Inca, who gave him the flasks. Just these two lived together. Yutan opens the flask of cold, and we all suffer. He opens the flask of darkness together, and that is why we always see the night. That is what Yutan always does, they say, living with Inca.

My relatives, those who were recently created, lived in those ancient times with Inca. Then Inca, when they were swinging themselves, decapitated them, and ate them and they were angry and left, going to live far away, thinking not to live with Inca again. So my relations lived by themselves, and very well, they say.

(b) (Abreu: 446-447)
Yutan lived at the root of the sky. *nai tacha*, in a big hole, and he cold and the sun too stored away. the sun'shole was stopped up, and there was no day, ut the flask of cold was open, and it was always cold, they say. He lived with Inca, and ... the flask of darkness was always stored beside the sun's hole. When people went to see him, it always got dark. They say he opened it when they came. After this the sun sent it to be stored by the hole of cold, where it remained.

The people went into Inca's house and played on his swing with him, and then he cut off their heads and ate them.

When Inca goes up, he always dances (*nawa*).

He lives with Yutan, and he always gives him cold, together with darkness. when they take out the darkness we can sleep at the end of the day. When the darkness is taken out, we always sleep. They say that Inca went up, and that he lives in the middle of the sky, and that he always eats people.

Only Yutan lives in the root of the sky, *nai tacha*. When he goes visiting his relations, far away, he doesn't open the cold, just covers it. When the time of year called *yutan* comes, it is really freezing in his house. Yutan spider is huge and very spiny.

M4 - The Vulture that Stole the Sun

(From Abreu:447-453. The term *badi* means 'sun', 'day' and 'time'.)

When Vulture (*xete*) took the sun, they say he took it away from Inca. they say it belongs to Inca. When Xete took the sun he did as follows. He went to visit Inca, who used to keep the sun stopped up in a tall flask. He entered the house feeling really cold, and the bald top of his head was freezing. The Inca asked him the purpose of his visit, wondering why he had come with such a cold body, such a cold baldness, and he replied that it was because he was feeling so cold. He said " In my house it is very cold and there is no sun. Inca, do you have sun? Give me a little!"

That is how Xete Vulture laid claim (*ea ak-*) to sun for himself, but Inca was miserly (*yauxi*) and didn't want to give him any. He said " Xete, my sun flask is very tall and that is why I can't give you any, and I am being miserly. If I gave you a bit and opened my flask, then all of my sun would be scattered. That's why I can't give you any!" Xete got angry with Inca. "Inca I came to visit you and you rejected my cold, and then I asked you for a bit of sun, and you are being miserly with it, so I'm going home!" Inc told him "Go then!" and he went, so they say.

Inca put some of his sun in another flask, and put that one away. Xete had hidden himself and was watching. When Inca had put his other flask of sun in the *bunanti* basket, he went off with the first one to visit his reatives. Inca's relatives are harpy eagles, so they say (*Nava tete* or gavião pega-macaco). Inca went to visit Eagle, and entered his house, opening his flask of sun for him. they say that Eagle has sun too. They say that when he had done this, Inca was very happy with Eagle. He told him "Eagle, Xete Vulture came to visit me, and he made my house really cold, and asked me for sun. I asked him if had sun, and he said that in his house he only had cold, and then asked me for sun. I was miserly with him and told him to go and he did". He also told Eagle "Vulture only eats rotten food, there are stinking corpses in his house".

Eagle told Inca not to give sun to Vulture. He said he had a stinking body and only ate rotten game. Inca listened to his advice, and decided not to give him any, and then went home. He lay down and rested. Chana Inca came and visited (the *chana* is the xexeu or iapim bird; Lat, cacicus cela. See Chapter 3), When he arrived, everything became dark. There were great crashes of thunder. It thundered and threatened to rain.... Inca told him to come in and asked him about the thunder, darkness and threatened downpour that accompanied his arrival. Chana said " Inca, in my house there is no sun, just darkness. That is why all these things have accompanied my arrival". Then he went home.

The weather cleared and it became fine. then Inca opened his *bunanti* basket looking for his flask and found it gone. He searched for it before finally understanding that Xete Vulture had stolen it. Chana was playing, doing *chidin* in his house. All his relations had gathered together (such a crowd!) and they were playing and doing *chidin*. Vulture decided to go and see them.

It was really dark inside their house, no light at all where the chanas were playing. A huge crowd was playing, and Vulture went into their midst; they were replied by his stink and scattered. When they had scattered the sun came out and it was fine. this is what happens whenever the vulture goes to see the chanas (japims) playing. First it is dark, and then the sun comes out.

Vulture stole the sun that Inca had not given. But they say that cold belongs to vulture, and darkness to chana, and also the rain. But sun and dawn belong to Inca, to Harpy Eagle. Vulture took his sun from Inca by stealth, and kept it in his house. after Vulture had stolen sun he kept it together in a tree hollow, (*ji xankin*) together with cold. Vulture's house is such a hole they say, the place where he lays his eggs and raises his young. he stored his two flasks in there. The chanas play, and all is dark and cold, and then they go to see his sun but they are repelled by his stink and scatter. The sun comes out. Later, Vulture puts away the sun in his tree hollow.

M5 - Ixan or the First Creation

(a) Source; SIL bilingual education publication "Ixan", I have translated the first part directly from the Cashinahua text, The hero of the story is called variously Yukan, Ixan, and Binkun Chana and Ni Nava or Ni Nava Dua in the text,.

My ancestors (*xenipabu*) were created in a hole inside a tree. (The tree is unspecified, The term used for hole is the same as that used for womb, *xankin*). when they had been created inside the hole in the tree, they multiplied on and on, being created. There they learnt to live. (Translated in the pamphlet as 'learnt to make houses'). They lived, and gathered together to do so. Then they gathered together another *mae* (settlement), making new houses, their brother-in-law cousin doing the burning for them (According to the translation, the leader's *chai* did the burning for him, Possibly a tradition in the making of gardens that has not been noted in the literature, In the myth of squirrel spirit (see below) the relationship between *chais* is central to the burning of gardens). They multiplied again, establishing themselves in one place. They made houses in a group. they learnt to have sex, men learnt to marry women, and thus people learnt to make love to each other, making children. The women had sex with a different man, making children, making mixed up children (*jusi bake*), and making more and more, on and on.

There were many houses, and they continuously raised children in them, when they had made their child, they kept on raising (*yume*) the girls, and men marryied them, when they were ready. Those men who married women killed game for them and worked for them (*dayaxun-*). (The translation notes that brothers and sisters married in this mythic period). Those who lived were living with their kin all stuck together, all in a group with the houses very close, and very many houses. There they learnt many things. They learnt to work, they learnt abut things, to make hammocks, to make pots, adding progressively to their knowledge, living together in a group.

There was a man, (called Yukan) whose wife (Ixma) was pregnant and hungry for meat. It was nightime, and the *tua* toad was singing in the dark. She heard it whilst omplaining, and feeling ravenous for meat because of their childmaking, she said: "You have made me with child, but you bring nothing for me. I am really ravenous for meat. Since it's your fault that I am so hungry, it is you who are making me suffer, so go and get me a *tua* toad". She spoke thus, criticising him. So, in the dark, he lit a lamp. "I'm off to get toads" he said as he went. He went off to the big river.

From here the story continues as in chapter 5, The toad spirit and the fish leader capture Ixan/Yukan/Ni Nava (ie Forest Nava) and when they are rejected by the people and above all by his sister-wife Ixma, cause the great flood, The text continues directly with the story of Nete (see M6),

(b) Source; D'Ans (1975)ps

There was a man who loved to fish called Ishyan. He was fishing and was caught in a downpour, but continued even the the water rose and covered him. Then he transformed into a fish. After the rain his relations tried to find him but in vain. One day a an heard Ishyan singing and saw a golden fish, and realized that he had been transformed. The fish swam away to a deep pool, but the man followed it, and above the pool heard all the sounds of a village (Dogs barking, children crying, etc.). The man returned home and told everyone, and they were happy especially Ishyan's wife, who was suffering because of his absence. She went to the pool and called her husband, who answered. She asked him what he was doing, when she and their children were needy. Ishyan was happy where he was with his relations he told her, but finally she persuaded him to visit (with his new family). He told her to go and prepare food for them, and she did. But when she called he did not come.

Time passed. Her son tried to make a garden for them, but he was too small. She again decided to get Ishyan back. He again agreed to visit, if she prepared much food, and indeed he came when it was ready. But behind him came a host of fish thousands of them in lines. They filled up the cleared ground of the village, and more and more kept coming. Ishyan's wife began to scream that they should leave. The fish turned back, and Ishyan was very angry with his wife. He said he too was leaving because of her behaviour, but she threw herself at him, and, transformed, he flew away as a tábano, a vicious bloodsucking fly.

M6 - Netebuken, after the Flood

(a) Source; Adauto, Tape 19, The speaker (a Baptist) begins with a Biblical story, and I then ask him;

Are there any ancestor stories like this one?

Adauto:
There are very many!

Did they tell this story?

Adauto:
No they didn't, the stories of the ancestors were different.

In ancestor language, was God's name Jesus Christ, didn't they have that?

Adauto:
No they didn't in those days. They hadn't learnt that yet. They hadn't got God's name yet, my people were incredibly ignorant. Their creation was as follows, My ancestor relatives' creation, the beginning of creation, was as follows. Jesus, God created us, we hadn't learnt about it yet, as I told you, this is my relatives, their creation (*ba*, same word as cook).

The flood had come, Jesus had caused it as a punishment. Netebuken climbed onto a tree (that was floating). This Netebuken Pabukatsama gave birth to us - her brother was Navapaketanven the big - anyway she was first of all on the end of a tree floating downriver. Netebuken came to rest on the sky's horizon, where the river dried up.

She cried and cried, and became blind. Then she found a gourd and submerged it, and opened a hole in it, and submerged it, and having made bees and wasps, cut off their ends and put them inside. She put two human children in, two tiny little boys, and she carried them with her. She said:

> Let's go to your uncle's, (MB, *kuka*) to visit him, where he is over there!

She talked to them as they went along. The flood had brought banana and corn which they saw as they came along, (on the river bank) up above. They slept as they came along. Her brother Navapaketanven could be heard making a noise like "tun tarurururururu aaaa", because he was chopping wood. She told them that their uncle lived close by. Her children asked her where and she said let's go and see.They slept two nights on their way. They were going upriver, walking beside the river on land.

There was a huge cliff or slope, incredibly high, and an enormous ladder going up. They shouted to their uncle, and began the climb. They had to stop to sleep halfway up. They heard him the next day, not far away, making the noise of chopping wood. They wanted to see their uncle, Finally they arrived at Navapaketanven's place. They say that the brother, who was working, heard Netebuken say:

> I have arrived, Younger Sibling! Where is your house I want to see,"

and her sister-in-law said:

> *Eeeee* - my sister-in-law has arrived - *Eeeee!*

She was happy, and having gone out, and went off to where Navapaketanven was working, shouting as she went that his sister had arrived. But he wanted to strike his siter, and his wife told him not to. He was angry, and wanted to strike her. He got tree after tree to hit her with, but his wife restrained him. In the end they sat down. His wife cured him. They then lived with him, and he fed them nixpo (i.e.initiation).

Navapaketanven got tortoise young, and spider monkey young. When he had got them, he made them chew nixpo. They did pakadin (a kind of chanting) and Navapaketanven sang "White-lipped Peccary Big Haunch" and his sister Netebuken did pakadin and and when it was done well cooked, so they say..? They did the nixpu animation, everyone doing it, rushing around doing it.

By the way, Father Moico knows how to do that, nixpo pima I mean.

Does he?

Yes indeed! Well, when they had done that, Navapaketanven already wanted to *kebi* ? his sister, and he made them eat nixpo. He fed them the tortoise young and the spider monkey young, and then, they say, he bewitched his sister. He wanted to kill her, and did. The young men were angry. They got poison, *dau*, and shot him in his huge balls with tiny arrows. Their uncle wondered what had bitten him. His sons-in-law had already gone. He got a fever, his balls swelled up, and in the end he died.

(b) Source: SIL bilingual education publication "Ixan"

Nete got on the *bui* tree which her drowned relations had cut in order to clear a garden. She floated on it down to the horizon.She cried and cried because she could not get down, and bees came and ate the mucus from her eyes and nose, thus blinding her. Hence forth she was called *Netebuken*, Blind Nete.

She caught big xada bees, bit them in half, and spat on them, transforming them. All the people had died. Then she caught nixmin bees and cut them in half, and transformed them with her spittle. She spat in her *xankin*, hole, womb. She made High Forehead, Betunku Keyutapa. She got hold of a gourd which had been washed up onto the tree and and spat, making transformations in them. She took them with her, her offspring.

She told them to go with her upriver to look for her relations. On their way up they found every kind of crop, and she instructed them in taking some to be planted. She made them make a garden, and they settled. she made many more people and they lived together. Netebuken had a brother, Navapaketanven, who lived separated. He wanted to hit his relations but his wife restrained him. His sister tamed him, and he went to live with her, but he gave her poison and she died.

Navapaketanven's son-in-law put poison on an arrow and shot it into his balls whilst he was working in the garden, and very soon he died. the creation continued, with all my relations living together.

(c) Source: D'Ans (1975): In this version Netebuken makes 2 boys called Dua and Inu, and two girls called Inani and Banu.

(d) Source: Capistrano de Abreu:500-506

Netebuken does not appear in this version. Instead, a man and a woman, called Makadi and Matsiani, are the only survivors of the flood. They climb on different trees, and when the flood dries, decide to marry since everyone else is dead. They have two children, Bata a girl, and Mudu a boy, whom they make marry. These are the ancestors of the Huni Kuin. They made real houses in real settlements, and proper gardens, and their descendants propagated

The first people never suffered illness. But the second creation people did (after the flood). After the rain the evil medicine plants grew and fell and rotted on the forest floor, and the wind blew it into our homes, and the people became sick.

M7 : White Squirrel Spirit

Kapayuxibu Source: Mouro Domingo, of Fronteira. The speaker told me that these things happened during the creation of the world, and that the world of the indio was made differently from that of the non-Indians. He said that they (the Indians) had to struggle hard to get vegetables, fire and so on, During the same evening he also told me about the acquisition of the hallucinogen *nixi pae*, and the story of Yavashikonava.

The ancestors suffered a lot because they had very little to eat. Their only food (*piti*) was a kind of earth which they found with difficulty in the forest. They also ate meat, but since fire was unknown to them this had to be eaten raw. The women were left alone in the village by the men for most of the time, because of the never-ending search for food and meat.

One day a woman went down to a stream to fetch water. Kapeyuxin, the squirrel spirit who decided he wanted her for a wife. the next day when she returned he proposed to her, explaining all the advantages. these were many, since he knew how to garden and to hunt magically. she accepted and took him back to the village. He asked everyone to shut their eyes for a minute, which they did. Upon opening them they saw the house (a cupixauá or maloca) filled with bananas, manioc, all kinds of vegetables, and roast meat. When the men returned the women explained that this man of another tribe had done all this, and so, reluctantly, they accepted him. (He had changed into a person - virou gente - when he had proposed to the woman).

He went with his father-in-law to make a garden. He had a magical bamboo tube which contained fire - a special fire which glowed like a weak torch bulb. It was kept in by a stopper. Kapenawa (ie Kapeyuxin) marked the edges of the garden site, going all around knocking down the shrubs, but not even cutting down the biggest trees. Then he unstopped his tube, and the fire roared out, burning down only the area he had marked. The garden thus created came ready planted with mature manioc.

Another time he went to the garden with his brother-in-law. Whilst he was marking the boundaries, he left the tube with his young brother-in-law, warning him not to touch it as it was dangerous. However, the boy was curious and opened it (porque Indio é danado, né? comments Mouro). A great fire came out and consumed him. When Kapenawa returned, all that was left of his brother-in-law was a little bundle of cinders the size of a small baby. He took it back to the village and went to fetch medicine from the forest, which he put on all the joints of the corpse. He made him eyes out of jarina fruit (*jepe*). Then he threw the little corpse into a well, and his brother-in-law was restored to life. He stepped out of the water a whole person.

Eventually, Kapeyuxin fled from the village, chased out by the men who wanted to kill him, because he came from another tribe (tribo). Also, because Indians are crazy. He turned back into a squirrel and that is why we can hunt them today. He took all his vegetables with him. That is why the people had to steal them from Yawashikunawa afterwards. ((see d'Ans (1975):74-82 and Abreu (1941):287-309 for the story of Yavashikunava the Miser.)

Other Sources: Capistrano de Abreu:209-226; d'Ans.

M8 : Bixku the Ulcerated
SIL bilingual publication "Xenipabu Miyui"; Capistrano de Abreu:263-274.

M9 : The invention of Potting

Cap de Ab: 274-276.

M 10: The invention of weaving

Source: D'Ans (1975):141-2.

Basnenpuru, the spider decided to take human form and go and live with our ancestors, who at that time did not know how to weave. Everyone used to take her cotton, and she would make hammocks. One day a woman took Basnepuru 4 baskets of cotton, asking her to make her a skirt and a hammock. But when she returned 3 days later, the spider woman ahad eaten all the cotton and made nothing. She was furious and went off to tell everyone about the behaviour of Basnenpuru, unaware that the spider had to eat the cotton before weaving with it. Another woman told Basnenpuru what had happened. When the woman came back again (to find her hamock and skirt ready) Basnenpuru told her to take her things and never come back, since she had been foulmouthing her unjustly. The spider was tired of the human beings. she called a woman and told her that she was leaving, but that first she was going to teach the women to spin and to weave, which she did.

M11: The invention of design

See chapter 2; section 4.

M12: The Origin of White-Lipped Peccaries

d'Ans (1975):107-112. See also Tapes 8 & 10 for another version.

A young girl refused to marry. Her parents and relatives went into the forest and gathered and ate the fruits of a *pama* tree, which they did not share with her. During that night they all changed into white-lipped peccaries and fled into the forest, leaving her alone. She found a magical baby in a gourd hanging in the maloca. He was Dome Xena (Tobacco Worm). Everyday he grew and after a week was already adult. The couple married and had many children. When the peccaries came to the maloca, curious about the woman, her husband and children shot many of them, and ate their meat.

APPENDIX 2: Myths: Transcriptions in Cashinahua

M6 (a) Netebuken

Jabiaska yuipaunimenkain?

Jayamaki, xenipabu miyuidan betsabin.

Deusun kena xenipabu jancha, jesus cristo kena jayamadaka?

Jayama ipaunibudin. Ja unandiama. Deunsun kena jayama ipaunibu ki, enabu unandiamajaidadan. Jaska anu badan. Enabu xenipabu badan, bai taedan, enabunadan, jadan, Jesus, Diunsun nuku bavani, ma unaimaxun mia yuiai, ja enabudan, bai taedan, Bai itaidan, na jidi jene jatu achia, Netebueken ma jiki... Uinya, jia jene achidan, Jesus detenibudan, Jesus deteabu, jene jatu castiganidan. Ja Netebuken pabukatsama nukun kainaya - ja javen pui Navapaketanven evapabu - ji debuanu dukun janua maikidi kaikunkainai,

Netebukuen ja naichitikanu jaki jene netsua dakanikikaiki, bekuna - Kaxai, kaxai, kaxai, bekun. Janua munti kaima bechitan jaasai, dextuntan, jaasain ikaiki, xada inun binu ba chixteaxun naneni, min uinmadaka. Junibakedabe nanea, ja tuxin pexeniki, juni dabe, jabun iveaidan, jabun ivea juidan, "Kananve, kukaki, nukun uinkave unudi ikidan, kukadan", - ixun jatu yuikubidankin. Na bai matapa mani beima inun xeki beima, uinkubidani juidan, manakididan. Ikunkidanidan uxakunkidani, min ninka - javen pui Navapaketanven ika jui tun tadudududu aaaaaa ixunikiaki. Kadu vaidan. "Uinun, kukadan munukaniki inun jabiunxenven kubivani maeven jivea". Javen bake uivekinan - "Jania?" - "ja jivea" - ika - "uinkanun" "uxadinunkave" uxaxina bestenkidani, unu ana uxaxinibukiaki.

Jenea maikidia juidan, Netebukeni. Manankidi main kaidan. Jaska kunkaini kaidan ... Unu mavavan mava bada mava keytapa anu mapaketan, tapiti xadabainikanai "Jabiini yukanven, unudi en jabaini yaki tudi vaban mava manankidi mapaketan tapaiti bichan bainiki butankave, Kukanan!" Anikiaki. Inakean, mava jatia mava tapaiti kepian javen inabaini, unu uxanibukiaki. Ja axun ninka chaima Tun tudududu jaaaax! ei ja daka kukadan, uinkatsi. Janua bei unu uxaxina janua bei unu jikinibu kiaki Navapaketan nukuidan. Ja pui ja daya ikakin ninkainikiaki Netebukenaidan.

En jua, ichuka, jani min jive en uinkatsi javen tsabe: "EEE en tsabe juaii! EEE.." ika. Benima, kaintan xun, daya ika Navapaketan en yuia, sai sai ikidanikiaki. "ua uaua Min pui juikiki! eee Netebukenan! Ukudi javen kux anu duei iyajunikiaki: "Kuxayamave, Min pui kuxayamave!" Sinataidan, javen pui detenunkadan. " Ja deve mebinya ikain ji bitani ikai chanti "Kuxaven, tudikave" - "meyamave, min pui meyamave! Ji xadabu bitan bitankin, ja aina mibin min bakea ? Tsaunikiaki. Jaska ana ainu dau v?akin ja puin de dava jabe daunikaiki. Jabe dauxun, jabe jivea, janua jabe jivea nixpu pimanibukiaki. "Nixpu pimaman!" - Navapaketan xave bake binun, ja pui Netebukeman isu bake binikiaki. Isu bake bixun, nixpu pimakin, pakadin inibikiaki. Ja pakadin inubu, janua Navapaketanvan yava kuin chinkan "Yava kuin chinkankayaaa" Javen pui, Netebukenma, pakadinkin, pe axun bainikiaki .."Na maxadatan eeeeeeeee" Nixpu benimankin, dasi akubainkin, nixpu benima axun akubainkin - Epa Moico jayabi, nixpo pimadan.

Jayamen?

Jayaki! Akubainkin, unu axun, vaya. Ja Navapaketanvan unu ma pui kebi katsi janua jatun nixpu pimanikiaki. Isubake inun xavebake, pimatan, kunkainkin. Janua ja Navapaketanvan pui daunikiaki. "Java vai iki, nuku imaskaikimenkain. Tenanun, javen uma atan, ja ispaskanake? sisikin, ja pui tenenikiaki, jabe bedunbe sinanikiaki."java vai ibua tenanexun , tenane, dau bixun, chachimaxun, javen jubudan, chaipadin. Na keska tsaukidan jatixun xadakidani. Dauven tsakanan ixun betsabetan dau chachi imaxun kespiman puikama taedui xadaakainaia xinai tsakatiki padana, puikama unu xini tsakatiki padan, jubu tsakanibukiaki. Dauvenan. (hunting story voice) Jubu tsakabu, tsakatan unu kespi bixketan kuxibainabu...eee.. ii ana juu patsatan xadabidan uinya uin tubini tsauakatsi "Java ea pixumen? " ixu, chiuubaunkin puimiti chux axun na buna chux akin jima detakin, aka, yama! Ma buabu - javen daisbudan - xua xua iki tubainkunkauni "ee jadaiki paun? pia juaii!" Jua, pen ika, yunanikiaki, Navapaketanvanan. Jaskadiama, ja dakaken, javen nabu bejauita? Navapaketanven jai ibainibu,

unu buaibu, Navapktnvn javen pae atan ispais jiku madamaya ikaya unu java manankidi paxabuxianbu javen nabu mavanikiaki uivenkauankin ja Navapaketanvan inkajene kauankin teneinkiki aka. Uinya, matsi tenanikiaki. Tena juabu, yuiya "bauxinainunve!" iki, ma aka, - janua ja mesti dakaxun javen daisbu ja yuixu, keska vakin jubuki en dau chakabu chachibaintsakabu jubu suikaini yunatan, yunachakayama, uxa jatia debunikiaki. Tres diadan. Tres uxadan. Uinya, Navapaketanvan.."TUN" Debunibukiaki.

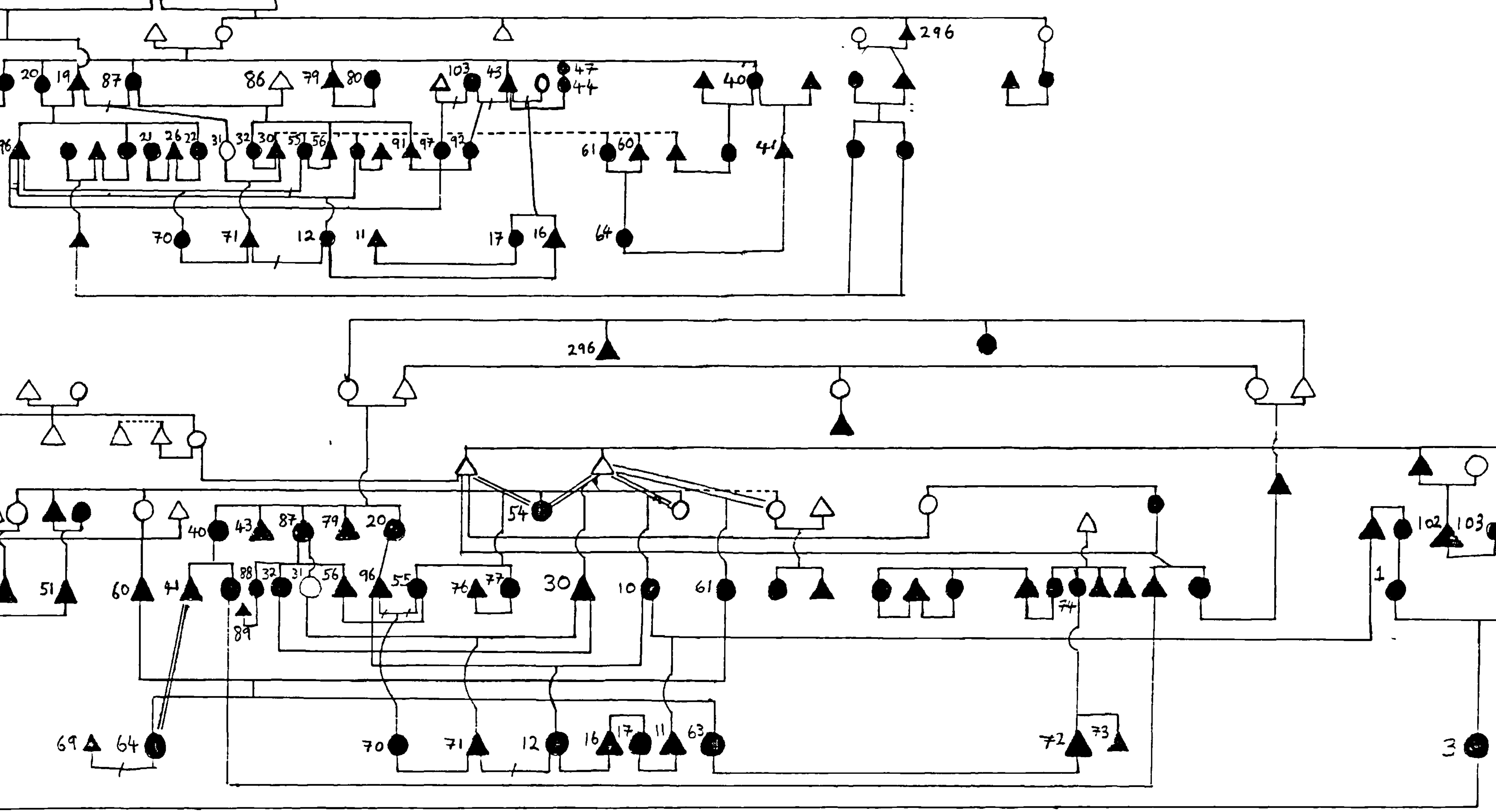
APPENDIX 3: GENEALOGIES

The figures below represent the genealogies of the adult Cashinahua population of the Alto Purus Indigenous Area. Unmarried children and adolescents are not included. The numbers on the figures indicate the person's name and the names are listed below. They are numbered according to the order in which the data was first written down in my fieldnotes. Christian names and surnames, real names and moiety affiliation are listed where known.

1 Maria Alcida Peres Castillo, Idiumanani, BANU
2 Fortunato Castello Montes, Bexkiti, INU + DUA
3 Marta Ines Peres Castillo, Chima, INANI
(4-8 unmarried)
9 Manuel Mateo Praro, Dome kudu, INU
10 Antonia Lopes Silva, Bimi, BANU
11 Paulo Lopes Silva, Sian, INU
12 Juana Feitosa Silva, Chida, INANI
(13-15 unmarried)
16 Valdemar Pinheiro Silva, Iban, DUA
17 Maria Elina Pinheiro Silva, Xekvani, BANU
19 José Augusto Feitosa Perreira, Isabadin, INU
20 Maria Alcina Perreira, Same, BANU
21 Maria Antonia Perreira Feitosa, Uma, INANI
22 Santa Caterina Teresa Perreira Feitosa, Pada, INANI
23 Marcelo Perreira Feitosa, Kana, INU
26 Edivaldo Rodrigues, Djekan, INU
30 Francisco Lopes Silva (Pancho), Bixku, DUA
31 Maria Luisa Feitosa Perreira, Uma, INANI
32 Maria Anisa Sampaio, Buni, INANI
33 Ermelinda Lopes Augosto, Yaka, BANU
40 Sebastiana Pinheiro da Silva, Dani, BANU
41 Francisco Pinheiro da Silva Bilo, Dintemani, INU
43 Antonio Pinheiro da Silva, Sian, DUA
44 Raucilda Barrosa Amada, Pain, BANU
47 Amada Esteiro, Mekani, INANI
51 Mario Torres Bardales, Mudu, INU
52 Alcida Maya, Maxe, BANU
54 Teresa Silva Maya, Mekani (Tuxmani, Xanubananin), INANI
55 Rosa Lopes, Maxe, BANU
56 José Marciano Sampaio, Xane, INU
60 Elias Jaime Salas, Tene, DUA
61 Nazaré Lopes, Inkuvani, BANU

63 Carmen Jimmes Lopes, Sain, INANI
64 Crissia Jimmes Lopes, Buni, INANI
69 José Cecilio Napoleão, Kean, INU
70 Subella Lopes, Mekani, INANI
71 Nicolau Lopes Augusto, Mana, DUA
72 Abel Chapiamo, Tuin, INU
73 José Luis Chapiamo, Mukadi, INU
74 Ana Maria Nascimento, Same, BANU
76 Arlendo Dauriano Esteiro, Dasudi, INU
77 Marlene Lopes, Yaka, BANU
79 Manuel Montenegro da Silva, Sian, DUA
80 Zaira Perreira da Silva, Maxi, BANU
86 José Sampaio da Silva, Kupi, INU
87 Maria Sampaio, Yaka, BANU
88 Maria Nelsa, Chima, INANI
89 Ossiano Esteiro Silva, Xane, INU
91 Manuel Avicianno Sampaio, Dentemani, INU
92 Maria das Dores Pinheiro, Batani, BANU
96 José Augusto feitosa, Tuin, INU
97 Maria Antonia Paulino, Chida, BANU
102 Mario Paulo Baile da Silva, Bane, DUA
103 Maria Domingo, Bimi, INANI
108 Césario Domingos Cavalcante, Peana, DUA
109 Maria Sebastiana Batista Rubim, Dani,
112 Elita Batista Rubim, Nanke,
115 Maria Conceissão Paulino, Maxi, BANU
119 Francisco Batista Cavalcante, Iban, INU
120 Oscar Nonato, Besun, DUA
121 Maria Zenadia, Chima, INANI
123 Estefana Rubim, Chida, BANU
124 Dasilda Batista, Yuku, INANI
125 Adauto Batista, Udi, INU
131 Alcide Marcel Rubim, Bainava, INU
135 Francisco Damas, ? , INU
136 Santa Zuleide Damas, Same, INANI
137 José Domingos de Barroso, Xane, DUA
138 Maria Alicede Rodrigues Albuquerque, Nete, INANI
139 Delciur Rodrigues Albuquerque, Dani, INANI
140 Ediberto Francisco Domingo, Tuin, DUA
142 Anisa, Yaka, INANI
143 Bigail Rubim, Yanka, BANU
144 Alfredo Domingo Batista Cavalcante, Ninava, INU
145 Cilda Cavalcante Rubim, Ayani, INANI
146 Roberto Domingo, Bixku, DUA
152 Estefana Domingo, Maxi, BANU
153 José Francis Ferreiro de Lima, 'Kupi' (Cariù)
155 Mario Domingo, Yube, DUA
156 Deulza Domingo Perreira, Idiki, INANI
157 Maria de Fatima Domingo, Bunke, BANU
159 Pedro Domingo, Mana, DUA
165 Maria Odenir, Batani, BANU
174 Isabel Domingo Perreira, Pai, INANI
175 Chico Perreira, Bina, INU

176 Alba Domingo
178 Lucimar, Samepada, BANU
179 Agenor Severino, ? , DUA
180 Maria Domingo, Djuke
184 Chico Domingo, Kean, DUA
185 Zéfa Cavacante Rubim, Maka, INANI
189 Osmar Raimundo Perreira (Osmanim), Iban, DUA
190 Teresa Domingo, Mekani, INANI
191 Nadir Osmanim, Machuani, BANU
198 Sebastião ? , Kean, INU
199 Laura Rodrigues Albequerque, Batani, BANU
200 Paulo Rodrigues Albequerque, INU
201 Rosa A. Batista, Dani, BANU
206 José Paulo, Tuin, INU
208 Nicolau Rubim, Yubekain, DUA
209 Brando Batista, Chima, BANU
210 Augusta Batista, Sia, BANU
211 Gregorio Rubim, Mana, DUA
220 José Rubim, Tuin, DUA
223 Edgar Domingo Perreira, Usun, DUA
224 Tesela Domingo Perreira, Dade, BANU
228 Almerico Domingo, Sian, DUA
229 Violetta
230 Deniza, Yanka, INANI
234 Osmar Domingo, Bixku, DUA
235 Maria Domingo, Chida, BANU
236 Raimunda Domingo, dani, BANU
237 José Carlos, Iban, DUA
243 Severino Perreira, Bane, DUA
267 Sian Roderigues, Nanke, INANI
271 Fatima, Same, BANU
276 João Paulo, Bixku, INU
277 Maria Cilda, Padan, BANU
278 Franzinete, Djeke, INANI
294 Luisa Feitosa, Idiki/Sidiani/Mebiani, INANI
295 Maria Luisa Pinheiro, Dani/Pakadani, BANU
296 Moico Feitosa Maria, Sian/Binachana jiveaki, INU
297 Geraldo Domingo, DUA
298 Diu Perreira
302 Arakin Perreira
303 Maria de Nazaré Barbosa de Souza
308 Mauricio Domingo, DUA
309 Maria Sebastiana Perreira
317 Marina Perreira,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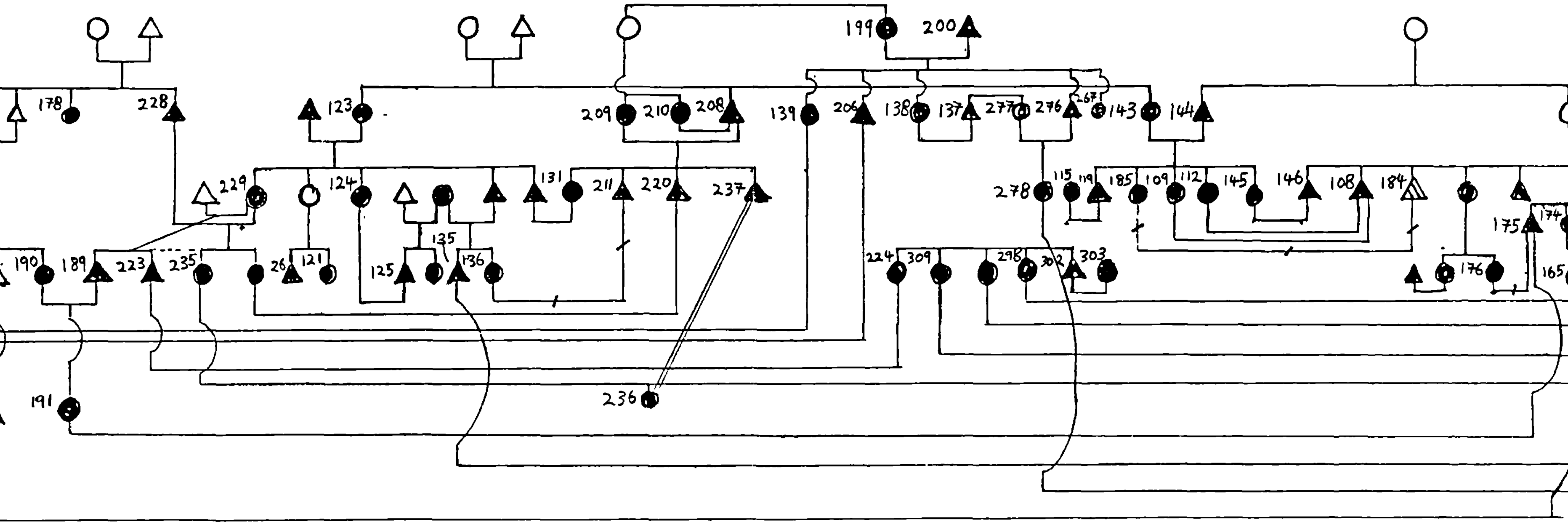
agrams represent the genealogies of the families living in
i Santa Vitoria at the time of fieldwork. The diagram above
s on the family of Zé Augusto and that below concentrates on
of his son-in-law Pancho Lopes.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gram represents the genealogies of the families living at
, Centro Recreio, Fortaleza and Centrinho at the time of
.

APPENDIX 4: Political speeches

Meeting 2: Extracts in Cashinahua

NOTE: This meeting was not recorded, I merely made a note of the speeches as best I could, I have underlined the Portuguese loan words.

M *Nukuki ana sinayamaxan. Briga ma pasayamadan. Nukun aldeia bestichaiki - nukun colocação tadisbia, nukun comunidade bestichaiki. Tem que nun dabenameki. Min java xinamen, kukan?*

D *Nun juni kuinski.* Goes on to suggest that the land is all of theirs and that they have a right to live there too, work there too.

M Nukunamaki, jabia geralki, nukuna todo mundo, jabia comunidade. Juni Kuin nenhum não pode despregaki. Tem que combinarki - tem que certinho combinarki. Tem que xinanki.

D Min aceitarmen, junuakin?

M Min bin min pode segurarki. Min pode min peidan min pode segurardukain. Tem que mia força dar. Comunidade medabevaven. Nun oitenta cinco entradukain. tem que nun mudarki! *Se não, nunca nun aldeia levantar! Sem produção nun projeto pikinan, keyu, java pititemmaki. Se não, nem pra frente kaiin - pra atras!*

M *Nukun bin tem que cuidarki. Jani nun sal bitidumenkain, nun binumadan? tem que fiscalizar ki. Nukun leidan. Nukun bin mutardan proibidoki. Jaska min acordo entraxumen, kukan? Cada uno, janchadan.*

Olave Tem que tudo mundo janchadan.

APPENDIX 5: COOKING RECIPES

Fresh Corn Caissuma / *Pacha Xeki Mabex*

When corn is still fresh and sweet, the grains are cut away from the cob and ground, or else grated using a grater made from an old petrol or kerosene can. The pulp is mixed with water and cooked in a large pan of up to 60 litres; the cook must stand beside it stirring constantly with a *binti* or paddle, wooden spoon. It is a common sight in a Cashinahua settlement to see a woman standing beside a huge pot, sweat pouring down her face, screwing up her eyes each time the wind blows the smoke in her direction. When the caissuma is on the point of boiling and starting to thicken again, she pours in more cold water. It is quite a skilled operation to cook it to the perfect thickness, which is why women prefer to do this part of the task themselves, rather than rely on younger helpers. Whatever happens, it must not boil.

Hard Corn Caissuma / *Xeki Mabex*

When the corn hardens, there are two ways of transforming it into caissuma:

(a) Standard Caissuma

The woman can grind the shucked grains using a bought hand operated mill. Young boys seem to find this one of the pleasanter household tasks to help their mothers or elder sisters with, and can often be seen taking turns at grinding. Once this has been done, it is sifted and the dross thrown to the chickens. The corn flour is added to the bowl of dissolved pounded fresh or dry peanuts, and the dough further pounded using the *xaxu* canoe and *deneti* rocker mill. Finally it is dissolved in cold water in the same way as the sweetcorn, and cooked slowly until thick but not boiling.

(b) Toasted Corn Caissuma / *Xeki Tuban Mabex*

Alternatively the woman might decide to toast the corn in a large aluminum basin or improvised receptacle . Shelled peanuts can be added to the toasting corn, if the woman has no *mete* peanut butter. This is also a tiring and sweaty operation, and involves much inhalation of smoke, which apart from tuberculosis could explain the number of old women with chronic coughs. Once toasted the grains are ground, and since they are dry this is a much swifter operation than the milling of uncooked corn. The cooking is also easier because the flour can be added directly to the pot, without first making a dough. This form of flour is often taken on journeys or several day hunting or fishing expeditions by women, as it stores well and is easy to transform into caissuma. It can also be eaten as it is, or mixed with a little sugar.

Banana Drink / *Mani Mutsa*

(a) Plain Banana Drink

Ripe boiled plantains, or occasionally another kind of banana, are peeled and boiled for about 10 minutes. The water is poured off and the plantain mashed using a stick or if there is a large quantity, in the canoe with the rocker mill. The water is then added to the mass, and it is thinned with more water. This drink, called chapo in Spanish speaking Amazonia, can be drunk as a substitute for caissuma. It is reserved for small babies if plantains are in short supply.

(b) Banana Drink with Peanut Butter / *Mani Mutsa Tamaya*
Peanut butter is added to the boiled bananas while they are being mashed, and the drink is made in the usual way.

Peanut Butter / *Mete*
Dry peanuts are toasted until the skins are charred; a good cook keeps the temperature of the fire low enough so that the nuts themselves are not burnt. Once they have cooled, she rubs loose the skins with her hands and then blows them away, sometimes using a firefan. *The nuts are then crushed in the canoe until they are a paste. This can be stored in a tin for several weeks if need be. Mete* can be used in the same way as pounded fresh peanuts, mixed with water and added to cooking manioc or green banana; it can also be added to ***mani mutsa***. Sometimes, when there is no meat or fish, it is eaten as an accompaniment to the vegetable during a meal; most important of all, however, is its use for the making of caissuma.

Boiled Manioc
Once the tubers are peeled and washed, they are placed carefully in a large pan and covered with water. This is set on he fire, whilst the woman or girl takes a bunch of manioc leaves and crushes them with the rocker mill. The paste is then mixed in on the top of the tubers, which are boiled for several hours until they reach a certain soft consistency. The Cashinahua are unique in the region for cooking sweet manioc in this way. A leaf called *navanti* can be used instead of manioc leaves.

Boiled Green Bananas with Peanut Butter
The washed peeled bananas or plantains are boiled together with some *mete* peanut butter.

Every Cashinahua settlement I visited served the dishes and drinks described above. However it should be noted that these are only the most common recipes and there are a number of Cashinahua dishes using these or other ingredients which are prepared less frequently. Some of them - Boiled sweet potato; boiled yams; roasted fungi; green banana fish or meat soup; cane and fish soup; steamed, boiled or roasted corn bread; boiled or toasted maize cobs. Differences in food preparation techniques are noticeable both between settlements and within them. Girls learn to cook from their coresident female kin, especially mothers, maternal grandmothers and elder sisters and minor differences in technique are passed on.

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